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MARCH 24, 1964

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Journal of Fact and Opinion

14 Reasons Why WE ARE WRONG ABOUT LATIN AMERICA

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MEYER ON THE COURT AND RE-APPORTIONMENT ♦ ANN BROWNELL ON A CONSERVATIVE RESURGENCE IN CONNECTICUT ♦ BURNHAM LOOKS AT THE SINO-SOVIET SPLIT ♦ & DIDION REVIEWS JOHN CHEEVER

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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In This Issue . . .

➔ the experts speak, pseudonymously. He who calls himself **Tiresias,** who has had extensive dealings with our hemispheric neighbors both as businessman and analyst, ticks off fourteen central fallacies of official thinking about Latin America, and concludes that after forty years of folly it is time we based our policy on things as they are. . . . And the lady who calls herself **Ann Brownell,** who has had more than a little to do with Republican politics in Connecticut over the last ten years or so, explains something of the origins and purpose of the Connecticut Citizens Committee, which may very well find the right doorbells in the swing cities of the Nutmeg State, and make the state GOP conservative enough to offer a convincing, and successful, alternative to creeping Ribicoffism.

➔ **James Burnham** on the wings of mind takes a reconnaissance flight over the Sino-Soviet border to observe the famous "split" between Bear and Dragon; it has to do, he says, with personalities, and the prize of power, as well as dialectic; which may aid the understanding, if not the tranquility, of those whom Bear and Dragon are commonly dedicated to burying. . . . **Frank Meyer** measures the recent excursions of the Supreme Court against the marching orders explicit in the Constitution, and finds it bent on shattering the federal system and usurping the powers thereof. . . . **Russell Kirk,** arguing from the nature of education rather than the substance of our governmental system, rebuts the Court's ruling on school prayer, and urges a constitutional amendment to protect worship from the Gorgon State.

➔ Our Spring Book Number positively shimmers. There is, first, **Felix Morley,** former president of Haverford College, former editor of the *Washington Post* (where he won a Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing), and author of many books, reviewing the symposium edited by Frank S. Meyer, *What Is Conservatism?* A deep and necessary question, says the redoubtable Mr. Morley, and a fascinating and valiant book. . . . And set the table with grandmother's best orange spoons, because here's the thrice-welcome **Joan Didion** come to join the Feast of Reason; and offering a sharp and lovely essay on *The Wapshot Scandal,* John Cheever's work in general, and that sprite named Sin, who always escapes mere microbe-hunters. . . . Prof. **Jeffrey Hart** of the English Dept. at Dartmouth makes the *Letters to Malcolm* of the late C. S. Lewis the occasion of an extraordinary exploration into the relation between the quality, the "feel" of a writer's ideas, and the style of his commitment to the Christian faith, in which there is much that escapes mere Sin-hunters. . . . Maj. Gen. **Thomas Lane** (USA, Ret.), who has taught at West Point, lives in the D.C. area now, enjoying a freedom his muzzled Pentagon friends must envy as he instructs his compatriots in syndicated column and articles. He looks between the lines of Allen Dulles' memoirs about the CIA, and comes up with criticisms the U.S. would do well to heed. . . . The great science fingent, **Theodore Sturgeon,** takes off with two new pieces of sf and an insuperable However, to the delight of all but his agent, who is waiting for him to finish those five novels he's writing at the moment. Just like that! Hmmph! ➔

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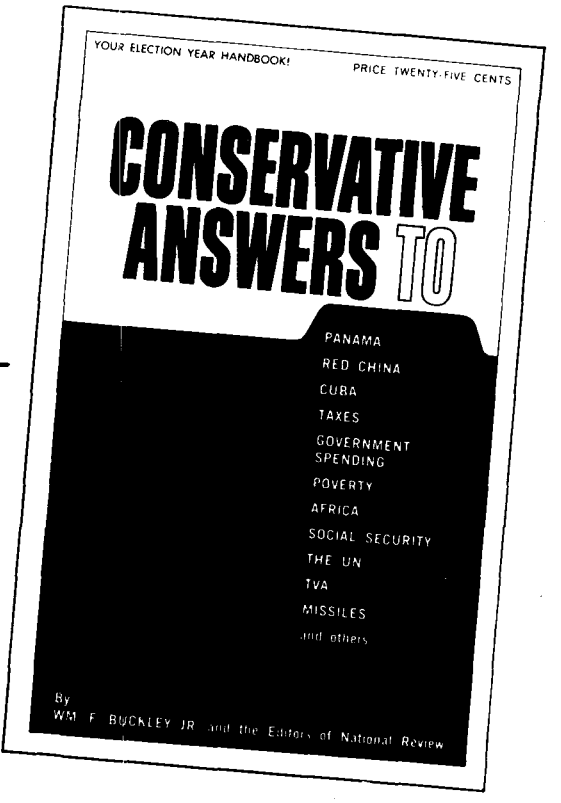

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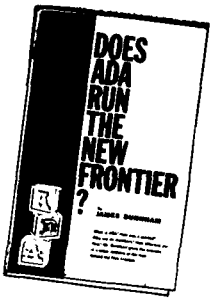

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The WEEK

● New Hampshire. The Granite State. Area: 9,304 square miles. Population: 606,921. Motto: Live Free Or Die. Flower: the purple lilac. Bird: the purple finch. Tree: the white birch. Song: "Old New Hampshire." The state is often confused with a television show bearing the same name. Its foreign trade, involving the import of politicians and the export of forecasts, reaches cyclical peaks in the even-numbered years. It borders on Vermont, Massachusetts, Maine, and the impossible. The peaks of its Presidential Range were named after distinguished foreigners. It was one of the thirteen most original states, and remains so to this day.

● Jimmy Hoffa, head of the Teamsters Union, has been convicted of jury-tampering; he will appeal. In thirty years of scrapes with police and prosecutor he has always appealed, and he has never been jailed. If he loses this time, he'll be put away for up to ten years. A jury has said he's a crook and deserves it; but those who love the majesty of the Anglo-Saxon law have been sad to see that majesty stoop, in this case, to a level of ill-tempered hectoring and harassment that is not far from naked persecution. But man's law is one thing, and the justice of the universe another. It's cause for wonder, a kind of ancient Grecian wonder, that Jimmy Hoffa has been struck down at the very moment of his triumph; that, after a lifetime aimed at achieving the incredible power implicit in a nation-wide union contract for almost a million Teamsters who control everything that rolls, within a month of his coup he's canned. He's a quarrelsome and imperious wretch; he was hounded by the law; he'll appeal. But sooner or later the universe metes out *its* justice, from which there is no appeal.

● As the civil rights movement heaves and surges, "the Negro power structure" (as it is called in the literature) cracks, splits, regroups and burgeons in the battle for leadership. The latest explosion is ominous for the future. The formidable Malcolm X, for years chief of the New York temple of the Black Muslims—most disciplined and powerful of all Negro organizations—split publicly with the top Muslim prophet, Chicago-based Elijah Muhammad. Malcolm X, responding to the pressure of large sections of the Muslim ranks, will henceforth reject the Muslim rule of abstaining from the civil rights struggle. "I shall support [the Negroes] in their fight for good education, housing and jobs. Negroes must shift from nonviolence to active self-defense. I shall also tell them that what has been called 'the Negro revolution' in the United States is a deception practiced on them. . . . I shall tell them what a real revolution means. . . . There can be no revolution without bloodshed."

● Mr. C. A. Church, director of the Manhattan district of the Internal Revenue Service, likes his work. It's so interesting. So warm and human. People are his concern. He loves people. "We can trace the personal history of a man," says Mr. Church, "and his successes and failures, just by looking at his tax returns from his first job to his retirement." Isn't that *fun*?

● But it's not only great fun to peek into other people's business, it's also socially useful. In the last month, for example, an investigation in the Manhattan district of the Internal Revenue Service has turned up some 32 tax cheaters, and the story is there's more guilt in them halls. Strange to say, many of the cheaters are tax agents who were working under Mr. C. A. Church. People sure are interesting, aren't they, Churchy?

● Djever notice how all the Liberal oracles, who bless the deficit, weep for cash, and pray the government will spend more money—djever notice how they all of a sudden become oh so very thrift-minded, soon as Congress allows as how it'd be nice to get a hike in pay? Who for Keynes' sake do these congressmen think they are, anyway? The United Auto Workers? Money doesn't grow on trees! Taxpayers are overburdened! Let congressmen scratch around for themselves! Another bobbybaker will turn up, or something! . . . . Consider. The handsome pay hike being talked of for Congress amounts to $5 million. The Peace Corps budget has grown from zero to $115 million in three years and is on its way, with LBJ, to $500 million. Apparently the money is there. The only question is whether the Liberals are more interested in hiring talent in the African jungle or paying for talent in the United States Congress.

● On March 6 a federal court in Mississippi handed down an extraordinary decision. The question in the case, brought by the Justice Department, was whether Negroes were discriminated against by a state law requiring voters to be of good moral character, to be able to read and write, and interpret the Constitution. The court ruled that the law does discriminate, but in no unconstitutional way, and that it would "improve the quality of the electorate though it might curtail its members." Beyond that, the court noted that the Federal Government had no grounds

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for bringing suit, in the absence of any statutes discriminating against voters by race, color, previous condition of servitude, or sex (*i.e.*, under the 15th or 19th Amendments); for the only mention of voters' requirements in the body of the Constitution (Art. I, Sec. 2) merely says "the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature." Nothing there about one-man, one-vote. Which is to say: the states, not the Federal Government, establish the voting requirements, within the constitutional limits. It would be constitutional to deny the vote to anyone who doesn't speak Latin or know algebra. A curious idea, that voters ought to know something.

● Uhuru was brought home to British BBC viewers a couple of weeks ago when they were shown a five-minute documentary of the Congolese police at work, a sort of African "Dragnet." They saw Adoula's cops tie up prisoners, pour water on their ropes to tighten them, and then beat and kick them to death. They saw policemen force one group of Africans to fight another group until half a village had been killed. These and other jungle-version third degrees had been filmed by French photographer Roger Louis with the cooperation of local authorities who apparently regarded such police activities as normal. Reaction to the program was immediate and strong. Thousands of Englishmen wrote in to protest—not the police brutalities but the taste of BBC's program director in showing the film.

● Early this month the New York State Commission for Human Rights found Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers guilty of violating state law relating to fair employment practices: in all of its 76 years, the union (which currently has 3,300 members) has never had a Negro in its ranks. Steps will now be taken to improve the employment opportunities of Negroes, but please note that they're the wrong steps: for the powers of government will now enter into fuller control of union practices, instead of opening the doors to fuller freedom for individuals. The basic question is: Why does the government grant monopoly powers to unions? Negroes are deprived of employment *not* because unions discriminate, but because discriminatory unions enjoy legal monopolies. If a Negro didn't have to join a union in order to get a job, then a union's attitude towards him wouldn't affect his job opportunity. The simplest and most effective step New York (and twenty other states) should take is to pass the so-called "right to work" law.

● Your monthly electricity bill is $5,000 and you want to cut it down to $3,000. The cost of electricity is 1.2 cents per kilowatt hour. Problem: To effect the $2,000 saving how many 100-watt bulbs will you have to turn off, and for how many hours a day? Answer (compliments of Rep. Bob Wilson—R., Cal.): Two million 100-watt bulbs for one hour, or 5,000 100-watt bulbs for fourteen hours daily. Somehow Rep. Wilson couldn't see it. The vision of LBJ padding through the White House dusk after dusk turning off 5,000 light bulbs didn't come through to him loud and clear, so he telephoned Pierre Salinger to ask about it, and about what savings are planned for that $100,000 monthly telephone bill in the LBJ White House. I'm not talking about it, said Salinger, and what's more he's not talking about the President's phone bill either.

What New Hampshire Said

An election is usually thought of as the final term of a series: the decision that comes at the end of the political campaign. But an election is also a form of communication, in which the citizen-voters speak to their public leaders and to each other; and in our strange, drawn-out process of nominating candidates for our highest office, this communication is an intermittent six months' dialogue punctuated by the successive primaries. So understood, the New Hampshire Republican primary was not the end but the start of the series of episodes that constitutes the campaign for the nomination. Its position as first in the series is, indeed, the sole reason why it is assigned more than a minuscule importance; and even as first its weight is slight enough, for New Hampshire is not only tiny in population but markedly untypical of the nation in geography, economic structure, ethnic composition and nearly every other nameable trait. Still, the New Hampshire Republicans were the first to hold the floor. What, this time, have they been trying to say?

Chiefly, as we hear them, that they remain as they were reported to be throughout the campaign, largely undecided. But does not the big sweep for Ambassador Lodge, like the 1952 Eisenhower write-in, mean that they *have* decided, and for *him*? Probably not. A solid victory for Rockefeller, Goldwater or even Scranton would have proved that they had decided. But this sweep for the absent ambassador—foreshadowed by NATIONAL REVIEW's "Focus on Nov. 3" column in the issue dated Feb. 11—was really a way of *not* deciding. For in the first place, Lodge ("Henry Sabotage," some of the reporters have been calling him in private since the scuttling of Diem) was the nearest thing New Hampshire had to a favorite son; and, in the second, most New Hampshire voters are shrewd enough to realize that Lodge has the chance of a one-eared rabbit to win the nomination. Serious Republican professionals, who groaned over his

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apathetic performance in 1960 and watched with dismay how John F. Kennedy conned him into getting saddled with the Vietnam catastrophe, wouldn't waste five minutes even discussing that possibility. Now, the naming of a favorite son, especially a favorite son who doesn't stand a chance for the prize, is a traditional device by which a party organization within a state postpones a decision and meanwhile retains maximum flexibility and leverage. This is what the New Hampshire Republicans have done.

Neither Rockefeller nor Goldwater, the two principal declared candidates who fought the main open battles (though the sleeper Henry Sabotage operation was massive and skilled), succeeded, prior to March 10, in convincing a majority or even a plurality of New Hampshire Republicans. This is an irreducible fact. They were both defeated, and in view of the relatively huge sums of time, energy and money spent on each campaign, soundly defeated. Senator Goldwater, though he might have sought consolation from the votes by which he topped the New York governor, faced his defeat with his customary candor.

NATIONAL REVIEW does not pretend to a Martian disinterest in viewing the campaign. We are for Barry Goldwater, yesterday, today and tomorrow; we are for his nomination as the Republican candidate, and for his defeat of the Democratic candidate. But we believe our judgment to be objectively correct in concluding that the Rockefeller and Goldwater defeats in New Hampshire were not identical in nature or consequence. Senator Goldwater was bruised; Governor Rockefeller was quite probably crushed. Rockefeller's setback would seem to be irreversible. Goldwater can and almost certainly will—the New Hampshire campaign itself offers the proof—not merely recover, but will profit from these early mistakes. (And let us not forget that Goldwater has already begun harvesting whole batches of delegates from states where Henry Sabotage would have trouble drumming up a corporal's guard.)

Rockefeller is probably finished in the first round —though he will go on flailing until the last bell, no doubt—because he hasn't anything in reserve. He shot his political wad on what should have been a promising bet, and he lost. His style of campaigning was perfected long ago, and his best wasn't good enough. It's hard to see how, physically, he *could* spend more money per voter. He was fighting on favorable terrain: a northeastern state, near-neighbor to his own, where he has many ties of friends, school and largesse. The ideas he served up, all well polished with the familiar sheen of the reigning ideology, were easy and familiar. The national press, both newspaper and periodical, was friendly. He put an incredible personal energy into his drive. And he came in third. If he couldn't do better than that in New Hampshire, think what it will be in Illinois or Texas!

Goldwater held some valuable trumps, too, it is true—in particular the support of Senator Cotton and many well-known, well-liked New Hampshiremen. But Goldwater was in a local environment almost the opposite of his own, in the region of the country dominated by those who most fanatically oppose him. Though an experienced congressional politician, he began as an amateur at this kind of campaigning on his own behalf; and the amateurishness so apparent on that unfortunate "Meet the Press" program carried over into the first New Hampshire weeks, along with an injured foot. The New Hampshire campaign was for Goldwater a concentrated education, and all the reporters commented on how much more ably and confidently he was handling himself in its last days. Now he and his staff are digesting the experiences and preparing to apply them fully.

When once we discard the favorite conservative illusion that a great conservative majority of voters is panting with eagerness to answer the first trumpet and flock to the polls, we realize that Goldwater's problem is altogether different from that of all his

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Focus on NOV. 3

◆ One aspect of the Goldwater campaign in New Hampshire that may catch on in other areas was the part played by volunteers from neighboring states. Connecticut conservatives, for example, chartered a bus on Fridays, cruised up the expressway, stopped to pick up anyone holding a "Goldwater" sign, and (for $5) delivered the reinforcements to Goldwater campaign offices in New Hampshire for a weekend of work, licking envelopes, ringing doorbells, and whatever. Betty Stuebing, of Stamford, who designed the plan, called it "Operation Adoption."

◆ Governor John Connally of Texas, a middling-conservative Democrat, had plenty of support for his 1962 nomination from Republicans who went on to vote against him in the election. This year, if the GOP gives him less support, and if the Liberal wing of the Texas Democratic Party goes all out against him with President Johnson's backing, the Governor may not even win his party's nomination. And a corollary: to the degree that Johnson identifies himself with the anti-Connally campaign, he'll tip his hand as to the pitch he'll make in the South generally.

◆ The Oregon GOP primary is shaping up as another mob scene, what with Lodge, Scranton, Nixon, and Smith playing for position between Rockefeller and Goldwater. The dust will settle on May 15.

◆ By chipping away here and there at supposedly solid delegations from Eastern Liberal GOP states, Goldwater may gather some backing to provide the victory margin. New Jersey's delegation will probably be unpledged and Liberal, but it's likely that at least 20 per cent of the delegates will be for Goldwater. In New York, Governor Rockefeller no longer talks about leading a solid delegation; he has already announced that there'll be some who will get away. Liberal observers have begun to set the stage, by merely shifting their ideological scenery from New Hampshire to New York. The word is: *Of Course*, Goldwater will take maybe 20 of the New York delegates from Rockefeller; and so if Goldwater takes fewer (and the best bet is he has a chance for a dozen), then *Of Course* it's a Great Disaster for Goldwater. Meanwhile, Goldwater has no intention of ignoring Rockefeller's weak foundations in his home state. An informed source tells us that Goldwater is firming up plans to speak at a giant rally in New York's 18,000-seat Madison Square Garden, early in May. With the exception of the late John Kennedy, Goldwater is the only politician who has been able to fill the Garden in recent years.

◆ Averell Harriman (former this, once that, ex-t'other) can have the Democratic nomination to oppose Senator Keating (N.Y.) if he wants it. As for Mayor Wagner, he may prefer to haggle for the Vice Presidential nomination; and to try for his daddy's old Senate seat four years later—when Javits will be up for re-election.

◆ Scraps of melody from an unfinished symphony: a reader says: "Last night I was watching the Garry Moore show on TV. Garry read a few burlesques of Mother Goose rhymes, some of them political, received with laughter and applause. Then he read one ridiculing Goldwater. Silence. Not a laugh or a hand-clap. He was completely taken aback." The Los Angeles County Young Republicans polled their membership early in March as to Presidential preference; 92 per cent favored Goldwater; the rest were divided among Rockefeller, Scranton, Romney, Lodge, Smith, and Nixon (Nixon placed second, with 2 per cent). Late in February the Michigan Federation of College Republicans, some 467 strong, representing 30 colleges and universities, in their annual convention, elected as their chairman Mr. Dale Warner, who polled 286 votes on a platform of victory in the Cold War and support for Senator Goldwater. The remaining votes were spread among three other candidates, each of whom declared himself a Goldwater-type conservative. And in California the law requires at least 13,000 signatures on candidate petitions for the Presidential primary, and allows 30 days for the job; petition season opened on March 4; by early afternoon of that same day, Goldwater volunteers had their 13,000 signatures; such a feat has never before been seen in California politics.

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opponents. There may be a potential conservative majority, but, washed as the entire electorate has been for forty years by the Liberal wave, it must be won. The ideas of Goldwater's rivals, no matter what their shadings, revolve within the general framework of Liberal ideology, which is assumed in most public discussion. Many of Goldwater's ideas—conservative ideas, that is—are outside this framework, and challenge one or more of its assumptions. It is therefore inevitable that some of Goldwater's ideas, even when in substance quite simple and direct, can be made to seem confused or contradictory. To make them seem so is a primary concern of his opponents and the greater part of the press.

There is no doubt that Senator Goldwater himself and his staff underestimated this difficulty, also, in communication. On topics such as Social Security, Cuba, the UN and Russia, Goldwater's formulations were not adequate to his task. And it seems probable that in some cases he had not in the past thought out his positions on these matters with the kind of thoroughness and consistency required to meet the myriad daily attacks, questions and probings of a continuing campaign. The New Hampshire experience has made these defects apparent to Goldwater

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and his associates; there is good reason to believe they will be repaired in growing measure as the campaign progresses. It will prove necessary, too, for his course to be guided by a stricter strategic control that will cut the waste involved in too scattered a fire, and focus on the few great key issues that can become decisive.

For the supporters of Senator Goldwater the New Hampshire result is unavoidably a disappointment, but no cause for despair or even discouragement. If we are willing to learn its lessons, it can be put to good use and effect for the future of American conservatism.

Out of Tune

The mills of the Establishment grind quickly, but oh, so coarse. The current whoop-whoop is over a dreary topical "folk" song called "Little Boxes" that attacks development housing and sells by the zillions. Writing lyrics only a Liberal could get excited about, to a borrowed tune, took folksinger Malvina Reynolds all of twelve minutes, in a moving auto. Thinking she had written "just another good little old folk song," Mrs. Reynolds confessed her astonishment at the fuss to NBC's *Monitor*, but modestly observed "the voice of the times speaks through people like me." *Time* magazine (Feb. 28) came very close to isolating the secret ingredient in the "Little Boxes" success formula: "And of course she is a Liberal and a ban-the-bomber," it said.

NATIONAL REVIEW understands the philosophy of "of course a Liberal"ism. It will be patient with all who fail to realize that the inability to distinguish between Liberals and Communists evokes Establishmentarian anger, not mortification. It will set the record straight, as always.

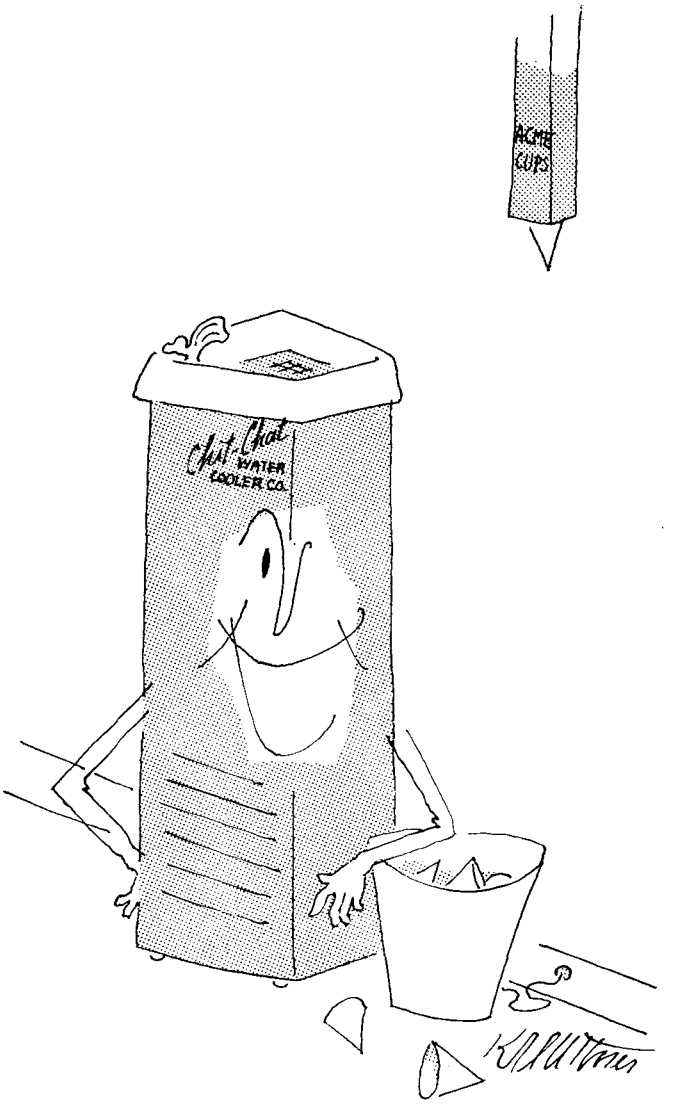
Mrs. Reynolds was identified as a Communist in sworn testimony before HUAC as early as 1950, and before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee just last year. She has also been so identified by a similar committee of the state of California. She was a registered Communist voter back in 1936 and 1942. She was a columnist for the Communist *People's World*, and has engaged in the routine complement of Communist assignments. "Of course a Liberal"ism runs in her family.

Mrs. Reynolds' father, David Milder, was a charter member of the Party. Her mother was a Party financial supporter. Her sister, Eleanor Lawrence, has been identified as a CP organizer for Alameda County. Her brother-in-law, Thomas Lawrence, has a long record of associations with Communist-supported causes. Her uncle, Edward Newman Sr., was a distributor of the Communist *Western Worker* (predecessor of *People's World*). Her cousin, Edward Newman Jr., is a member of the Communist-front National Lawyers Guild, has employed identified Communists in his office, and is married to the sister of Dorothy Healey, Chairman of the Los Angeles Communist Party.

That Damned Tax Bill

The Congress has now added a couple of hundred thousand words to the tax law, which means that the law we are all required to observe has become just that much more difficult to find, comprehend, remember, and apply. Despite some very brave attempts to estimate the economic effect of the infinitely complex alterations, the various forecasts remain attempts only; and the underlying motivation for the vast legislative effort remains askew.

The easiest road to tax reform (read: simplifica-



"Heard the latest? Women's votes to be counted twice, in order to compensate for Ten Thousand Years of Inequities, and It's Rude to Rock a Sinking Boat."

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IN THE NEXT ISSUE

THE SUDDEN MAGNIFICENCE OF WILLIAM SCRANTON
by M. Stanton Evans

LIFE AMONG THE LIBS
(Hunter College Division)
by Susan Buck

tion) is a general and deep reduction in the graduated income tax rates. You cannot improve a bad law by complicating it.

And an unjust law is certainly not justified by its being made to apply to only a minority. The new tax law, for example, actually *raises* the federal income tax payable by a 65-year-old widow whose sole income is some $3,500 a year in dividends. Senator Eugene McCarthy says that's okay, because there aren't so many people (read: voters) who fall into that category.

Nevertheless, the new tax law does move in the right direction at least in its schedule of gradual drops in the high incremental tax rates. We may be taking the first stumbling step towards that distant but necessary achievement, a radical reformation of the federal tax system. In the meanwhile, the Federal Government is living, quite literally, off the generosity and honesty of the American people, who administer to themselves a law that could not be administered by twenty million full-time agents if the public declined to cooperate. How many more times the Congress can force the public to wade through a quarter-million words of inscrutable federal tax law without rebelling, is a question the Congress may well ponder.

Speak Up, Everybody

On its specific decision to reverse the $500,000 libel judgment against the *New York Times* and four Negro ministers, the Supreme Court did well, we think. Although one may never be quite sure what will prove to be the future meaning and application of a particular decision, we rather like, at least on first reading, a good deal of the doctrine with which Justice Brennan, for the majority, motivated the Court's unanimous decree. Several officials of Montgomery, Alabama, had brought suit, alleging that a full-page advertisement printed on March 29, 1960 by the *Times* was false and had defamed them. The Alabama courts found for the plaintiffs. The Supreme Court agreed that statements—many statements—in the advertisement were indeed false, and did not question that a number of them were highly uncomplimentary to Montgomery. But the Court ruled that they were nevertheless permissible under the First Amendment.

The Court seems to have held, in general, that there can be no libel of a public official—no matter how false or abusive the language—unless there is proof of deliberate malice. There is "a profound public commitment," the Court declared, "to the principle that debate on public issues should be uninhibited, and wide-open, and that it may well include vehement, caustic, and sometimes unpleasantly sharp attacks on government and public officials. . . . Neither factual error nor defamatory content suffices to remove the constitutional shield from criticism of official conduct."

So wide a door—Justices Black and Goldberg would open it even wider—undoubtedly permits entry of speech that is not merely free but disruptive. But in the face of the monster state of our era, armed with all the powers of advanced technology, that would seem to be the lesser evil.

Well done, then, judges, to have thus defended our right to speak our minds about and to our masters. We add, though, two footnotes.

The Court not merely found that the advertisement, accepted and printed by the *Times*, was crowded with errors and falsehoods (the opinion's first thousand words are needed to summarize them) but discovered also that the *Times* had made no effort to check any of these falsehoods—though many of them would have been exposed merely by looking back over the *Times*' own news columns. Moreover, the *Times* did not seek to determine whether the persons listed in the ad as its sponsors had actually given permission for that use of their names; and in fact, in many cases they had not.

The record here is of some interest to us. Several of the editors and associates of NATIONAL REVIEW have from time to time been concerned with submission of "editorial advertisements" (as the Court calls them) of this type to the *New York Times*: in recent years, for example, in connection with China, Katanga and Cuba. In every case the *Times* has demanded verification, sometimes of an almost fantastic sort and usually at the last minute before their press lockup, of statements, names and quotes. On obscure, niggling and sometimes plainly ridiculous grounds, the *Times* has ruled out certain material, sometimes refused entire ads altogether. We are gratified to learn from this present documentation that not all its customers are put by the *Times* to such a deal of pother, for we agree with the Court that these ads are not comparable to ordinary commercial advertising, but are an important outlet for the "promulgation of information and ideas" by which citizens "exercise their freedom of speech."

And will the Court please tell the President to stop bellyaching about bellyaching?

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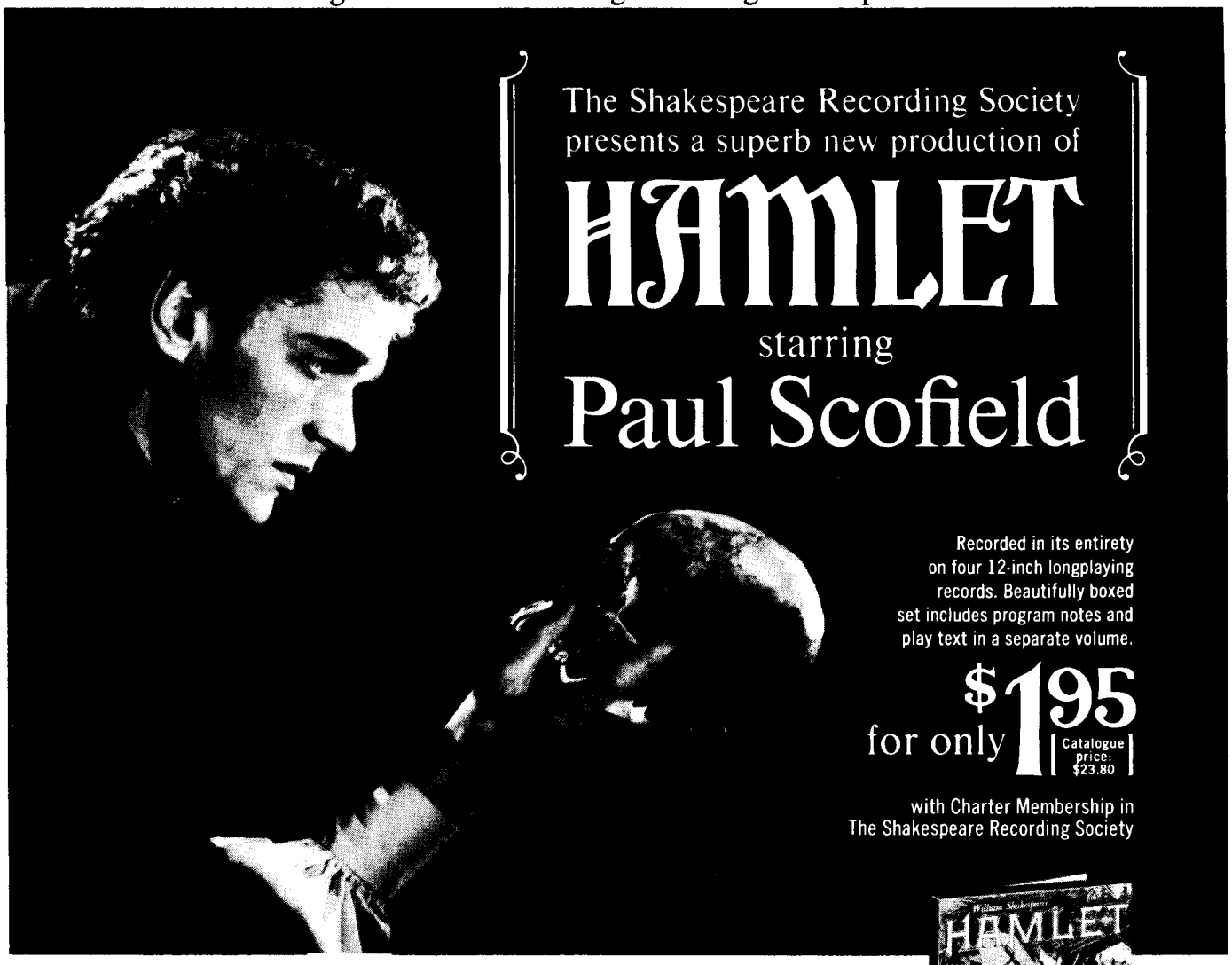
Now...the most exciting actor of our time gives the greatest performance of his career


The Shakespeare Recording Society
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starring
Paul Scofield
Recorded in its entirety on four 12-inch longplaying records. Beautifully boxed set includes program notes and play text in a separate volume.
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ONLY once in a generation does a truly great HAMLET appear. This performance is the supreme HAMLET for our time. Paul Scofield, in the most important role of his career, conveys all of the passion, sensitivity and intelligence which Shakespeare wrote into the lines. His HAMLET is a man of trenchant wit, of infinite subtlety, of eloquence and grandeur. Enriched by the performances of a superb supporting cast, his consummate portrayal captures for all time the profound human truths of Shakespeare's greatest drama.

This historic production, complete on four longplaying records, is offered for only $1.95 (catalogue price $23.80) to introduce an unprecedented cultural project—and a whole new dimension in the enjoyment of the world's most celebrated plays.

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The Society has undertaken, for the first time, to produce on records all of the plays of William Shakespeare—not excerpts or "modern" abridgements, but *full-length, full-scale* dramatic productions that bring into your home all of the fresh and vital spirit of the plays as they were meant to be performed.

Listening to these recordings is an unforgettable experience. Here, through the ear and the "mind's eye," you feel a sense of excitement and an immediacy rarely possible even at good stage presentations. You follow all the whispered plottings, the outrageous puns, the softly-uttered soliloquies . . . hear the ringing trumpets, the clash of swords in battle . . . find your imagination sweeping you into the teeming, colorful world of Shakespeare's characters.

Each album features a "dream" cast

To help realize this ambitious project, a most unusual repertory company has been formed. Participating players include *Sir John Gielgud, Claire Bloom, Richard Burton, Siobhan McKenna, Rex Harrison, Margaret Leighton, Albert Finney, Jessica Tandy, Stanley Holloway, Dame Edith Evans, Sir Ralph Richardson,* and other performers of equal renown.

The productions represent the ultimate expression of Shakespeare's genius in our time. They are to Shakespeare what the Metropolitan Opera is to the world of opera. For families with school-age children, there is no better introduction to the most enduring and significant literary heritage we possess.

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As a member of the Society, you are offered each new full-length production at a substantial saving. Although these albums—including program notes and separate text volume—cost nonmembers far more, you pay only $8.90 and $12.90 for two-record and three-record boxed sets (stereo and monaural at the same low price). You need purchase only four albums *over the next two years*—choosing from forthcoming selections or from the Society's extensive library of recorded Shakespearean works. With every fourth purchase, you receive a noted Caedmon spoken-word album (value up to $11.90) as a free bonus gift.

Accept a Charter Membership now

To enroll as a Charter Member in the Society and acquire the complete production of HAMLET for only $1.95 (plus small shipping charge), simply mail the coupon. If not thrilled with this introductory album, you may return it within 10 days and cancel your membership. Only a limited number of albums are available for this offer; mail the coupon promptly to avoid disappointment. The Shakespeare Recording Society, 461 Eighth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10001

The Shakespeare Recording Society

461 Eighth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10001

Please send me the complete Shakespeare Recording Society album of *Hamlet* and bill me only $1.95, plus shipping. Also enroll me as a member in the Society. I will be notified in advance of all new releases, and may also choose from a wide range of albums already issued. My only obligation is to accept four additional albums *of my choice* over the next two years. I will pay the special members' price of only $8.90 for two-record albums and $12.90 for three-record albums (same low price for monaural or stereo). With every fourth album I purchase, I will receive a valuable Caedmon spoken-word recording *free.*

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Address.....

City & Zone.....State.....

Until further notice, send records in ☐ Monaural (play on any 33-1/3 LP phonograph) ☐ Stereo (play only on stereophonic equipment).

NR 3-10-64

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From WASHINGTON Straight

Baker's Dozen

► Since last October, the Senate Rules Committee has sifted testimony indicating that Bobby Baker: accepted payment for directing the flow of government contracts; was reimbursed for "legislative favors" by a cut in meat import-export transactions; forced a page boy to kick back part of his salary; provided business friends with party girls and abortion doctors; handled under-the table campaign contributions; joined Senator George Smathers (D., Fla.) in rollicking Florida real estate deals; was permanently ensconced on the ground floor of new stock issues originating in Washington, and was extended virtually unlimited credit by "friendly" banks.

After amassing this astonishing evidence, the investigators now give signs of preparing to close up shop and forget the whole thing.

Part of the blame belongs to Chairman Everett Jordan (D., N.C.), who gives the impression of wishing he were somewhere else. Jordan's reticence is understandable. The White House has made known its displeasure with the investigation. When the Committee announced it would call in Mr. Don Reynolds, one Committee member received an anonymous telephone call from a woman employee at the Pentagon: she thought the Committee ought to know that a full-scale review of Reynold's background had been ordered at the Pentagon. Very few people give orders to the Pentagon; fewer still would be interested in what Don Reynolds proposed telling the Rules Committee. The Committee, and other prospective witnesses, could draw their own conclusions.

The Committee faced two major tests. It failed the first by refusing to call Walter Jenkins, a high-ranking LBJ aide, as a witness. There was no legal or ethical reason not to. Jenkins' story conflicted sharply with the Reynold's testimony about the life insurance policy he wrote for Sen. Johnson and the TV advertising he placed with Ladybird's Austin station. Jenkins was an employee of the Senate at the time of the transactions. That he is now an LBJ aide is irrelevant.

The second test was putting Baker on the stand. About that the kindest thing to say is that the Committee was out-maneuvered and out-showbizzed by attorney Edward Bennett Williams.

Sen. Carl Curtis (R., Neb.) generated what sustained power the hearings had. He did his homework assiduously. He phrased his questions with legal skill, drawing on undisclosed testimony taken in executive session to lay the foundation for a contempt citation.

The Republicans centered their efforts to break the Solid Democratic Front Against Embarrassing Disclosures on Sen. Joe Clark (D., Pa), a maverick by temperament and an outsider in the Senate of Lyndon Johnson's and Robert Kerr's heyday. In addition, Clark has long supported conflict-of-interest legislation, but on this one he's not playing.

What Next?

► The next question is: what can be done? A contempt citation? It could be brought against Baker, but would it stand up after recent Court decisions? Baker could be tried at the bar of the Senate; there are precedents for that. And if convicted he could be confined in the Capitol Guard Room for the duration of the congressional session. But Sen. Scott, who first proposed this maneuver, has been backpedaling on it ever since.

There's always the tax angle. Anyone who has been involved in as many financial transactions as Baker may have opened himself to a tax evasion suit. And there's every indication that the Internal Revenue Service is trying to reconstruct the financial history of Baker's halcyon years, 1958-63. Everywhere the Committee has turned in its investigations it has found traces of the IRS, and usually the FBI.

Finally, there's John Williams (R., Del.), who is *still* shocked by abuses of public power after eighteen years in Washington. Sen. Williams' questions, and partial answers launched this investigation. His files furnished the fuel that kept it burning brightly all these weeks. He has been silent on this subject recently, but it is difficult to imagine his continued silence if the hearings, and the case, are closed.

More for Massachusetts

► The House Science and Astronautics Committee has approved the construction of the giant Electronics Research Center in Boston, strengthening the suspicion that the junior senator from Massachusetts has lived up to his campaign pledge. Teddy Kennedy told the people of Massachusetts that he could do more for them than George Lodge could and—less than two years later—here comes the Electronics Research Center.

The Center will cost at present estimates, $70 million to construct and $70 million annually to operate. Boston would like that, and has not been shy to admit it. In fact, the original proposal, which came before Congress last year, sought authorization for the construction of an Electronics Research Center *in Boston*. There was no demonstration of manifest need for an Electronics Research Center; what was needed was an Electronics Research Center in Boston.

The House Committee approved NASA's report 18-13. There were no hearings; a motion was made to approve at the outset and parliamentary discussion dominated the short executive session. Several of the minority members, conspicuously John Wydler (R., N.Y.), have since asked the obvious questions: is the Center necessary, or is it only necessary if it is to be located in Boston?

Wydler hopes to get an answer on the floor, where he has raised the issue, or in the Senate Space Committee, before which he hopes to testify.

CATO

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Why We Are Wrong On Latin America

TIRESIAS

Brazil is today—and will always be—
the country of the future.
—Brazilian prediction

In the lengthening years since Fidel Castro and his deputation of agrarian reformers descended from their mountain classroom and assumed control of a demoralized and apprehensive island, the attention of United States taxpayers has been drawn increasingly to the land mass south of the Rio Grande collectively referred to as Latin America.

Dictators have been assassinated or overthrown and replaced by elected governments which have themselves given way to counter-revolution or military juntas. An attempt to purge the Hemisphere of Castro failed as ignominiously as did a later effort to rid Cuba of Soviet troops. American Embassy officials were kidnaped for political ransom; a former British colony chose a Marxist Prime Minister, and Panamanian extremists killed American soldiers guarding the Canal Zone.

And the Alliance for Progress was born—to a fanfare of New Frontier trumpets, predictions, promises and the heady chink of gold traveling south of the Border.

The area, it is agreed, is one of contrast and often violent change; of lush vegetation, cloud-high mountains and barren plains; of monarchical opulence and hopeless poverty; of grafting officialdom and student agitators. Collectively, a worrisome, unquiet and disturbing continent whose leaders are irritatingly unpredictable and whose masses are said to be clamoring for reform, progress, social justice and a warm place in the democratic sun.

Succeeding U.S. Administrations have promulgated a thesis that this Latin American unrest can be calmed, resolved and productively directed if our foreign aid carrot is sufficiently large, and the stick of criticism either humanely applied or magnanimously withheld. A second and equally fallacious theory is that we have much in common with our southern neighbors: a common political and cultural heritage which, when endlessly explained, should yield something described as mutual understanding. Its thrust is that since we are so nearly similar, divergencies of attitude, policy or outlook can be adjusted by reexamining what are conceived to be common ethnic and historical roots. Unfortunately, these unsound generalities form the premises of our current and foreseeable policy toward Latin America:

1. *Except for language differences Latin Americans are very much akin to North Americans in their personal and cultural characteristics.*

On the contrary, Latin American mores are as distant from ours as are their attitudes and essential values. From the tribal rites of Quechua, Jivaro and Xingu Indians from the Andes to the rain forest, to the total spoils system of coastal politicians, the Latin American is different in thought and deed from us. Where Catholicism bans divorce, the Latin male will establish a parallel illicit family, and is admired for adherence to the traditions of *machismo*—maleness. Governments attempting to collect taxes are regarded as competitors if not thieves—a view all too frequently reinforced by the generalized thievery of government officials. When one recent Mexican president left office with $14 million belonging to the National University he was widely envied as *listo* (alert) and *vivo* (shrewd). (No effort was made to indict him or regain the stolen funds.)

The Latin is not famed for Stakhanovite exertion, reliability or personal initiative. So far as I know, no reliable system of credit or credit reporting has been established in Latin America, owing to the reluctance of Latins to disclose their financial dealings or discuss those of others with anything approaching disinterestedness. Hard work as a path to success is downgraded in favor of sharp practice or the preferments of political and personal influence. In short, delay rather than application; evasion of responsibility in preference to its assumption, the short-cut rather than the rocky road. And all because of an ethos quite different from ours.

Temperamentally, our southern neighbors are quick to anger, quick to forget; suspicious, cynical, charming, and steeped in the traditions of a romantic past that is preponderantly fictional. This basic, though impractical, romanticism tends to make Latin Americans inordinately pretentious as regards their love-making, courage, intelligence, idealism and love of fatherland. And because Juan Pérez (the equivalent of John Jones) does not entirely believe in these ethnic superlatives, he is the more rapid to react when any are questioned. That he distrusts the legends of his own heritage conditions his suspicious attitude toward candor, confidence and disinterest when professed by others of a different race.

2. *That region of the Western Hemisphere from the Rio Grande south to Patagonia forms a geographic* [*linguistic*] *cultural entity which may be treated as a whole.*

The natural physical divisions of Latin America—the Andes chain and *altiplano,* the Panamanian Isthmus, the pampas and the green hell of the Amazon forest—together with rudimentary inter, and intra, country transportation systems produce regionalisms roughly equivalent to political boundaries. Excluding the Caribbean archipelago, the land area involved is nearly 8 million square miles, with an estimated 200 million population. Brazil alone has 70 million people and perhaps a hundred of the southern Hemisphere's three

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hundred aboriginal tribes which speak only their own distinct dialects.

In addition to Spanish, Portuguese and Indian tongues, French, Dutch and English are spoken in three countries. In Montevideo, Buenos Aires and São Paulo, Italian is useful to the traveler, as is German in Santiago de Chile. Thus, Latin America, far from being unitary in a geographic, cultural or linguistic sense, is as miscellaneous as a zoo.

3. *The Latin American search for democracy derives principally from the American Revolution.*

With the possible exception of José Artigas, who exchanged holographs with George Washington, the liberators of Latin America drew anti-feudal inspiration from the French Revolution. This Europe-oriented Creole intelligentsia included such men as Bolívar, San Martín, Narino, O'Higgins and Brazil's Andrade brothers. Of more lasting significance is the class struggle nature of Latin American revolutions, a factor almost totally absent in the revolt of the thirteen colonies.

4. *The masses of Latin America live in bondage to a hereditary and educated elite. Were it not for the economic and political restraints imposed by this elite, the masses would quickly form viable governments patterned after United States representative democracy.*

To the extent that the educated citizenry of a country comprise the managerial and entrepreneurial class, an hereditary elite exists in most Latin American countries. This elite disposes the investment of capital and thereby conditions the economy of the country. The Patiño family had controlled the Bolivian mining industry for generations until it was dispossessed by revolution in 1951. Since then, the formerly profitable mines have been so badly managed by successive socialist governments that it now costs $2 to mine $1 worth of nationalized tin. The differential has been contributed by U.S. foreign aid which quite openly subsidizes Bolivia's deficit budget. Not only did post-revolutionary Bolivia *not* opt for U.S.-style republicanism, neither have the revolutionary governments of Peru, Brazil, or Ecuador. And British Guiana has become avowedly Marxist. Perón brought beggary to Argentina and left it in such political and social chaos that generations may pass before it will be as calm and productive a country as it was before Perón. By comparison to Peronism, the Argentine oligarchy was wise and beneficent and the average citizen then was considerably better off than he is today.

5. *Latin American dictators, particularly military dictators, are bad* per se.

General Juan Perón was a bad dictator. Trujillo was a bad dictator as was Arbenz and Pérez Jiménez. Papa Doc Duvalier is a bad dictator. It may, however, be argued that the Somoza family represented an acceptable dictatorship, and that Paraguay's Stroessner is something of a progressive welfarist. Mexican presidents of the last forty years have been dictators, in effect, owing to the Mexican one-party system, and the right of Mexican presidents to choose their successors. Batista was a corrupt dictator who ruled Cuba as a fief; even so, until the advent of Castro, Cubans enjoyed the highest standard of living in Latin America.

Rather than judge dictatorships by knee-jerk Liberal standards a more useful criterion may be: what are the alternatives to this particular dictatorship in terms of the country's general welfare?

In the case of Trujillo almost anything was better, but what Dominicans got was an intellectual of the Socialist Left who had less capacity to govern than, say, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., whose idol he was. I happen to be in agreement with the decision of Peru's military leaders to frustrate the election of Haya de la Torre and establish themselves as a provisional government. And I congratulate the Guatemalan initiatives that prevented the threatened return of Juan José Arévalo who had been, in a different era, the patron of Jacobo Arbenz.

Much depends upon the capacity of a citizenry for self-government, and in the case of Paraguay (where Guaraní, not Spanish, is the prevalent tongue), it may well be that leadership exercised by a well-motivated military figure is preferable to quasi-democratic chaos with the limitless opportunities for pillage it affords self-serving elective officials.

6. *Economic aid to Latin American countries is essential to enable them to withstand Communist subversion.*

This echoes Truman's "belly Communism" philosophy—that Communism breeds because of economically depressed conditions, and ignores the essentially conspiratorial nature of the Communist drive for world domination. There is no cause - and - effect relationship between a nation's economic circumstances and the degree of Communist penetration it suffers. Bolivia, a U.S. pensioner for many years, enjoys the distinction of having a Communist-lining Vice President, and the billions of U.S. dollars poured into Brazil have had no effect whatever against the rapid spread of Communist influ-

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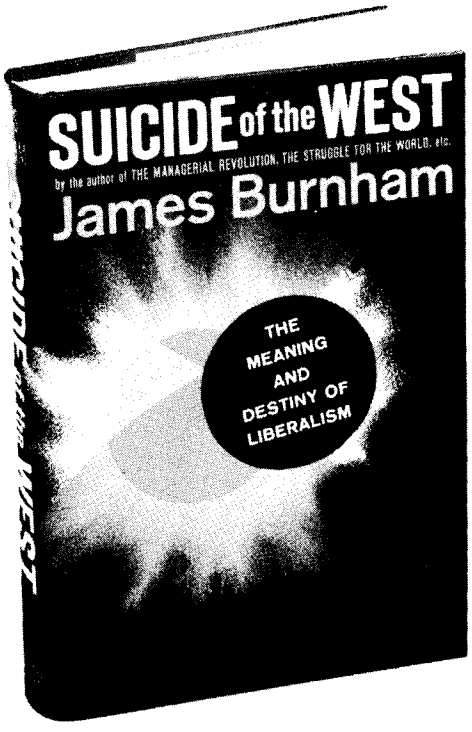
SUICIDE of the WEST
by the author of THE MANAGERIAL REVOLUTION, THE STRUGGLE FOR THE WORLD, etc.
James Burnham
THE MEANING AND DESTINY OF LIBERALISM

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ence. Indeed, one may speculate that U.S. dollars shoring up Brazilian bureaucratic payrolls have actually prevented an ousting of Marxist leaders by patriotic citizens.

Military assistance, as distinct from economic funding, is quite another matter, as borne out by the success of U.S. military aid to Greece and Turkey when they were threatened by the Soviet Union.

7. *Military assistance to Latin American governments is undesirable since the material a) will never be used to withstand external military threats, and b) is generally used to maintain the governments' infrastructure.*

This well-beloved theme of anti-militarists and unilateral disarmers is most often chanted in decrying the utilization of U.S. matériel by Batista against Castro guerrillas, and by Trujillo and Pérez Jiménez against their enemies. These swallows, however, do not make a cloudless summer, and it should be pointed out that but for U.S. military assistance Colombia would probably have been overrun by guerrillas, and that the recent Venezuelan elections could not have been conducted without the vigilance of troops armed with U.S. weapons.

Since the Chaco wars, only minor skirmishes have taken place between South American countries, and Hemispheric military planning since the Rio Treaty does not contemplate the deployment of Latin American forces against foreign aggressors; in the event of war, their role is to sanitize coastal waters and maintain order within their frontiers. But if national military forces are insufficient to maintain order in peacetime, they will hardly prove adequate for that task in time of generalized war.

It is true that a high if not disproportionate share of many Latin American budgets is allocated to military expenditures and that the military are traditionally a privileged class. It is equally true that professional military officers, far more often than civilian insurrectionists, have brought an end to intolerable despotisms such as those of Pérez Jiménez, Trujillo, Jacobo Arbenz and Juan Perón. So their privileged status is not altogether undeserved.

8. *Agrarian reform should be encouraged as a means of making peasants agriculturally self-sufficient, distributing national wealth, and liberalizing political structures.*

The Mexican agrarian reform begun in 1917, and revived by President Lázaro Cárdenas in the '30s, resulted principally in agricultural production declines. Disillusioned peasants sold their *milpas* and returned to working on land which had been rejoined into economically feasible units—or departed for urban centers to seek factory employment. The same process came about in post-Arbenz Guatemala, and Bolivian "agrarian reform" lowered food production by a third.

To North Americans the thought of unused arable land is distasteful, and a popular reaction is to recommend division of unworked *latifundista* acreage into plots for the peasant—"land for the landless." Yet, in Latin American practice, this has not been successful, due both to maladministration by bureaucratic planners and to the lethargy of peasants long accustomed to such paternalism as may be found in share-cropping and its equivalents.

While many Latin American demagogues howl for redistribution of land, most fail to call for prompt and equitable compensation for land seized by the government. And this factor is paramount in the resistance by large landowners to the cession of the holdings as called for by the Alliance for Progress ideologues in the name of social justice.

9. *Rapid industrialization is desirable for all Latin American countries.*

Industrialization is seized upon as a necessary condition for a high national standard of living and remains endlessly attractive to Latin American social and political planners. Qualitatively, there is felt to be international prestige in producing automobiles and other manufactures rather than beef, wool, cereals and minerals. The vicissitudes to which one-crop economies are subject are too well known to detail; nevertheless, the Latin American obsession with factories as against modern agricultural methods amounts to a mania, and most governments are both willing and eager to expend whatever is required in order to attach a national label to pots, pans, textiles, television sets and automobiles.

In the early '50s Mexico established a national automobile plant which, at great expense, produced a few hand-made cars. Argentina bought Henry Kaiser's old assembly line and produced outmoded vehicles at twice their original sale price in the United States until inflation, factory obsolescence and other causes brought a halt to operations (leaving thousands of Argentine citizens with paid receipts for never-to-be-produced cars).

Per acre of pasture land, New Zealand produces four times as much wool as Uruguay, and Uruguay is the leading Latin American wool exporter. The prevalence of hoof-and-mouth disease in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Paraguay prevents export of all but canned beef to the United States; whereas if this disease were eliminated (as was done in Mexico with U.S. assistance), foreign exchange earnings from the export of frozen meat to the United States alone could contribute impressive sums to their national treasuries.

A high percentage of Mexico's multi-million-dollar tourist earnings recrosses the Rio Grande to purchase corn, rice, and wheat (the departure of agriculture workers for factories having made Mexico badly deficient in cereal production), and while this trade helps the American farmer, one would see it in Mexico's self-interest to become agriculturally self-sufficient and utilize tourist largesse for other essential national purposes.

Unfortunately, the mythology of Latin America holds that an agricultural country is "backward" and "underdeveloped." Yet where real hunger exists in the Hemisphere, politicians turn their backs on available remedies and invoke an industrialization which may not be only inappropriate for a country in terms of its natural resources and intended markets, but futile with regard to the availability of technically competent manpower.

10. *The OAS is the proper instrument for the resolution of intra-Hemispheric disputes and for the suppression of Communism.*

To the extent that intra-Hemispheric disputes such as the current one between Panama and the U.S. can be prevented from becoming a rationale for UN intervention, the

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OAS is useful to the United States. The organization has, however, been ineffective as regards Castro Cuba as much because of the timidity of Latin American member nations as because of diffident leadership by the United States. In the fall of 1963 the OAS released a detailed report on Castroite subversion in the Hemisphere, but to date no collective action by the OAS has been taken to stem the subversion. Following the discovery of a large cache of Cuban arms on the Venezuelan coast, President Betancourt placed the matter before the OAS which sent a committee to investigate. Its report was an indictment of Castro, but it would seem that the United States has made it known that if it supports Betancourt's call for action it will do so reluctantly. Both leadership and direction are lacking in the OAS, and the fault lies principally in the directionless character of U.S. policy.

11. *United States policy should be conditioned by the opinions and sensitivities of Latin Americans.*

Realistically, such deference by the United States is neither expected nor understood by Latin Americans. Given the diversity of Latin American politics and attitudes, the only reasonable guideline for United States policy must be exclusively our nation's self-interest.

12. *Socialist Liberals of the Betancourt-Figueres-Muñoz-Marín school represent the hope of Latin America.*

If the hope of Latin America is Socialism, then Rómulo Betancourt, José Figueres and Muñoz-Marín are its temporal prophets. Nevertheless the sorry examples of Bolivia, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Guiana should suggest that the answers to Latin America's socio-economic plight must be found in other formulas than Socialism. Still Socialism sings a melodious song with its refrain of get-rich-quick nationalizations, promised welfarism, and surrender of individual responsibility and private initiative to an all-wise State.

13. *Through the application of sufficient funds, all Latin American socio-economic problems are solvable in the foreseeable future.*

This is the standard pro-foreign aid argument used to confound criticism that U.S. aid contributions to Latin America have not a) slowed the spread of Communism, b) ensured the stability of friendly governments, c) abolished poverty, and d) promoted social justice. The fact, however, that the billions spent to date have done none of these things argues rather conclusively that further billions will be spent as ineffectively. In the first place, Communism is not a spontaneous phenomenon arising in rag-pickers' *barrios*, but a calculated introjection of a foreign power whose trained local agents know how to exploit human misery and desperation, and convert social dissatisfaction into political action. Czechoslovakia in 1948 had no more than a normal level of ill-fed citizens, and was beginning to recover economically from the ravages of the war when, almost overnight, a well-planned conspiracy converted it into a Soviet satellite.

A basic tenet of foreign aid advocates and ideologues is that all social and economic problems are solvable with a plan and limitless funds. I would argue, however, that such a fundamental Hemispheric challenge as educating and bringing the aboriginal masses of South America into the twentieth century are not susceptible of solution for perhaps another hundred years, if even moderately realistic standards are applied to a task of that scope. The proponents of foreign aid argue variously that it is an instrument of U.S. foreign policy and at the same time a good-neighborly effort to improve the lot of those who are less fortunate. Since it is demonstrably not the former, let us hope it brings us some returns (gratitude, for instance) as the latter.

14. *The* Alianza para el Progreso *was and remains a good idea.*

As a pro-Kennedy electoral gimmick, the phrase was highly effective in securing the sympathies of Spanish-American voters in the Southwest and in Puerto Rican Harlem. Since then, the Alliance for Progress aid program that evolved has been considerably less effective in advancing United States policy (whatever it may be) in Latin America.

The partnership concept as we know it has never been understood south of the Border, where one does not share his riches with his neighbor unless forced to do so at the point of a knife. To the Johnson Administration the Alliance for Progress is becoming an unloved embarrassment. It is unworkable because it presumes that the Latin American managerial class is as interested in social change as the theoreticians of the New Frontier. It cannot be disclaimed or abandoned, because too pretentious much has been made of it; so it is safe to predict that like the lap when one stands, it will slowly disappear, and a new name will come into fashion.

The fallacy has been, then, that of

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The Third World War

How Blows the East Wind?

JAMES BURNHAM

I have tended to underplay what is usually referred to as "the Sino-Soviet conflict." This is not because I have believed no conflict exists, but, rather, because it gets such massive attention from the approved Kremlinologists that I have wanted, in the small measure within my power, to dilute the prevailing fixation. In particular, I have felt it prudent to stress the continuing commitment of the global Communist enterprise, whatever its internecine fissions, to the destruction of Western civilization and the achievement of a Soviet world order.

According to the accepted theory, the Sino-Soviet conflict is, essentially: 1) *ideological*—coexistence *vs.* direct revolutionary struggle; and 2) *nationalistic*—Russia *vs.* China. It is my conviction that the ideological dimension is of no great importance, except as an easy theme for verbalists of all countries, including the two principals, to expound upon. The nationalistic aspect is undoubtedly present and influential. But for even elementary comprehension we must add two other dimensions: 3) *personal*—Mao (and the Chinese leaders more generally) *vs.* Khrushchev (and the other Russian leaders; but first of all, Mao *vs. any* Russian); and 4) *organizational*—the internal factional struggle for control of the world Communist movement.

The "hard" evidence to which the non-Communist world has access bears almost exclusively on the third and fourth dimensions. We *know* that Mao, believing himself to be rightfully World Communist No. 1, despises Khrushchev ("Bible-reading, psalm-chanting clown") and that Khrushchev despises Mao ("worn-out old galosh, fit only to be tossed into a corner"). We *know* that the world Communist movement, which from 1918 until a few years ago was united under the unchallenged domination of the Russian Party, is now factionally split and splitting. On these two aspects the evidence is direct and abundant. But on the nationalistic and, especially, the ideological aspects, there is scarcely any direct evidence.

But is it not true that in the Russian, Chinese and world Communist press there have been millions of lines printed about "coexistence," "revisionism," "Leninism," "cult of personality," "liberation wars," "uncompromising revolutionary struggle" and what not? And doesn't all this prove the reality, the importance and the content of the ideological conflict? Not really.

Galosh v. *Clown*

Our Kremlinologists, whose acquaintance with Communism and revolution has been made in most cases at the verbal level only, do not grasp how ideology functions, usually, in an intra-revolutionary dispute. For many years before 1917, Lenin had denounced the farm program of the Social Revolutionaries as a petty-bourgeois betrayal, but that didn't make him hesitate a moment in borrowing the program intact in 1917 when he saw he could thereby win sufficient peasant support to permit the Bolsheviks to take power. Stalin thundered for four years against the sectarian adventurism of Trotsky's demand for an over-all economic Plan with emphasis on heavy industry, but as soon as he smashed Trotsky and the Trotskyist faction, Stalin made the Plan his own. For six years after 1933 the Communists spread the ideology of the united front against war and fascism; in the seventh they joined hands with Hitler and gave the green light to war.

These ideological slogans are, very often, only sticks with which to beat your factional opponent about the ears. And in this Sino-Soviet affair, when you get rid of preconceptions, most of the differences even at the ideological level turn out to be nothing more than rhetorical smoke. In a recent issue of *Le Contrat Social*, Boris Souvarine has observed that "the public discussion between the clown and the galosh is a dialogue between deaf men." He has summarized its typical exchanges:

"'There must be peaceful coexistence,' says one. 'No, it's peaceful coexistence that there must be,' answers the other. 'Ah! you therefore are against peaceful coexistence,' replies the clown. 'Exactly! we stand for peaceful coexistence,' the galosh hurls back. 'So then, you don't want peaceful coexistence,' says the indignant revisionist. 'Yes, certainly, we demand peaceful coexistence,' asserts the pillar of orthodoxy. The same farce is played when the clown chortles (*cf.* interview of Dec. 20, 1963) that 'we support by every means the struggle of peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism,' just as he has sung it a thousand times before, exactly like the galosh whose language he repeats, and who copies him in practice."

Completing the Circle

The reasoning of the Kremlinologists goes a full circle. They prove that Mao wants war and Khrushchev wants peace by arguing that Mao is provoking Ho Chi Minh and Castro and whomever to revolutionary excesses while Khrushchev is trying to quiet them down to neutralist relaxation. But how do they know that this is what M. and K. are up to in Vietnam, Cuba and wherever? Because, of course, K. believes in coexisting peace and M. believes in revolutionary war.

Apart from the logical circle, there is no evidence of this differentiation. In Cuba it is Khrushchev, not Mao, who has at every turn given the major aid—in arms, men, money and firm political backing—to Castro's revolution; Mao has given only big words. In Vietnam as in Zanzibar, Khrushchev and Mao, while jockeying for relative influence, have united in practice to support the struggle to oust Western power and establish a revolutionary regime. The idea of Khrushchev as a kind of ally *malgré soi* in promoting neutralization and resisting the spread of Communism is an illusion when it is not a fraud.

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Letter from Connecticut

Conservatives Strike Up the Band

ANN BROWNELL

Connecticut is a curiosity—a political patchwork. Sophisticated commuters to New York heatedly discuss national and international politics in blissful ignorance of their own state candidates for Congress, even as they ride the bankrupt New Haven Railroad. In tiny towns like Union (pop. 430), a man is presumed Republican until proven otherwise, while the Democrats' city dominance hobbles the GOP in every state election.

Columnists Joseph and Stewart Alsop, founders and still members of the ADA, are registered Republicans in the town of Avon; this places Connecticut's Republican Party in the proper political spectrum. In addition to the brothers Alsop, the Constitution State has contributed Chester Bowles and Abraham Ribicoff to the decline of the Republic.

Rules governing the makeup of party tickets are based on a weird formula: the Lieutenant Governor must be Italian, the Secretary of State a woman, the Congressman-at-large a Pole, the Treasurer a Negro. The remaining slots are doled out to Irish Catholics, Jews and Protestants according to geography and loyalty, although the Democrats *do* seem to discriminate against WASPs (white Anglo-Saxon Protestants). Selection based on the old adage "may the best man win" is considered hopelessly naive. Connecticut is the only state where all voting is done by machine, complete with the locked party lever designed to discourage independence and ticket-splitting.

Considered a swing state, Connecticut is in real danger of becoming the personal Baileywick of the Democrats. Their state and National Chairman is one and the same: political boss John M. Bailey. The mastermind behind Abe Ribicoff's election as governor, Bailey is an old hand at the manipulation of minorities. His pitch for bigotry through the perpetuation of hyphenated Americanism has paid off handsomely in personal power and patronage. Under his shrewd leadership, the GOP nosedive in Connecticut has been dramatic and disastrous. Republicans are now out-registered (Independent: 480,544; Dem.: 412,174; Rep.: 379,838) and out-represented (two Democratic senators, five Democratic representatives, one Republican representative). And in terms of party philosophy, Republican leaders are left way out—or way out Left. With their platform and candidates smudged carbon copies of the opposition, the morning after that Tuesday night in November, GOP leaders still wonder: Why?

To answer this question, there is a new political force—the Connecticut Republican Citizens Committee—whose purpose is to provide GOP victory through "hard work and belief in our own principles. We Republicans have been sitting on our assets!" bluntly states the man responsible for the Citizens Committee, conservative spokesman John Mather Lupton.

Two years ago, as a little-known advertising executive from Fairfield County, Lupton made a decision

John M. Lupton

which changed the state's political history. A state senator who had little more than the backing of his own family, Lupton sold his business and announced his candidacy for governor. Several prominent Liberals had already entered the race, and he felt "I had to do it—traditional Republicans deserved representation."

Amused political writers saw in Lupton a modern Don Quixote, but despairing conservatives, reduced to the pitiful state of hand-wringing, stood up and took notice. Lupton was, frankly, hard to overlook: suddenly he was everywhere, speaking three or four times a day. In the wake of his speeches, Citizens for Lupton clubs sprang up like mushrooms. Letters about him appeared in the papers, bumper strips on cars. But to the press and the general public, the question was still: "Who's Lupton?"

Lupton v. *Lodge*

He decided to play a long shot, risking everything in a primary fight with former governor and ambassador to Spain John Lodge, in Lodge's home town. Lupton won. A startled state took a second look at the new conservatives and their leader. Then the counterattack, familiar to most savvy conservatives, began: While it was privately whispered that Lupton was *really* a Liberal who only *talked* conservative, the press publicly graduated him to the rank of right-wing extremist, cum laude.

Lupton effectively countered the attack by basing his campaign on the official credo of the National Republican Committee, which reaffirms belief in the importance of the individual, the Constitution, free enterprise and individual incentive, limited government, equal rights for all, sound money, balanced budgets, and the protection and extension of freedom throughout the world. Said Lupton: "If that is extremism, I plead guilty."

The convention was a horserace down to the wire until, at 2:30 AM, on the eighth ballot, weary delegates chose John DeKoeven Alsop, brother of the columnists, Republican candidate for governor. But party leaders were impressed with Lupton's plea for return to principle, as well as the new workers and financial support he attracted. They decided they needed him on the ticket. The only major spot open: Congressman-at-large. Brushing aside the traditional reservation for a Polish-American, they asked: would Lupton take it?

Alsop had promised the spot to one of his supporters. The delegates wanted Lupton. He wasn't convinced

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he should accept. Finally persuaded that he could not refuse a statewide opportunity to take the message of conservatism to the people, Lupton agreed to run. Conservatives awoke to find they had gained more in six months than they dared to dream: a candidate on the state ticket.

In the gimmick-ridden campaign that followed, GOP exhortations on giveaways from potholders to tea bags ("I'd sooner Lupton") failed to prevent the predictable crushing by the Democrats' monolithic machine.

GOP Lacked Organization

Amid wrecked Republican hopes, a defeated Lupton could take comfort that his efforts for the conservative cause had not been wasted. From a handicap of eighth spot on the ballot, he ran ahead of the top-of-the ticket Liberal by over 11,000 votes, despite the party "lock" on the voting machine which discourages such ticket-splitting. (The party lock causes a freakish flip-flop in Connecticut voting. In 1956, Republican candidates slid in on Ike's 206,000 vote landslide. A short two years later, Gov. Ribicoff was re-elected by 246,000 votes, carrying with him every Democrat down to dog catcher.) Even the Liberal *Hartford Times* took note of the Lupton phenomenon. "Curiously," said the *Times*, "although he is an arch-conservative . . . Mr. Lupton showed impressive self - starting strength."

John Lupton now knew first-hand the bitter frustration of running as the candidate of a party which lacked sufficient organization. He had seen Democratic pluralities in four cities alone obliterate GOP efforts in over a hundred towns. In some cities, it was evident that Republican bosses, content with minority patronage, were playing patsy to the opposition. As top political columnist Jack Zaiman of the *Hartford Courant* put it: "Unless the Republicans can improve their conditions in the cities, they cannot win a state election. It is as simple as that. The problem is there, and so is the opportunity."

Setting out to solve the problem, John Lupton met with his principal backers. An editorial in the *Hartford Times* said of these men: "They compose the power structure of business, industry, finance and the professions. . . . Success in politics promises them little or nothing that they personally need. But they hate forever paying for dead horses in the political races of this state." Several of them were trustees of the National Republican Citizens Committee formed earlier at Eisenhower's Gettysburg farm. Would a Citizens Committee be the answer in Connecticut, they wondered?

Lupton flew to Chicago to find out. He talked to "Tim" Herrmann, chairman of the National Citizens. Herrmann also headed the Republican Citizens League of Illinois, which operates around Chicago. Herrmann's story of success, culminating in the election of a Republican sheriff in Cook County (where your vote counts—and counts—and counts) sold Lupton.

Next, he headed for Washington to see Don Frey, the National Citizens' executive director. Frey won his spurs with RA—Republican Associates of Los Angeles—the first of the GOP Citizens' attempts. He learned from Frey that while the Republican organization in California fought RA at first, its proven value in the fields of research and volunteer precinct work eventually forced the party to embrace the Citizens group with open arms. When Lupton reported back, the decision was made to create in Connecticut the first statewide Citizens organization in the nation.

Woes of Citizens Committee

Aims of the Citizens program are twofold: First, cut the huge Democratic pluralities in the cities by a margin sufficient to give GOP candidates a fighting chance in state elections. Second, fill the intellectual and philosophical vacuum left by party leaders who did not understand the importance of this function. In order to "make sales," Republican salesmen first have to understand their "product." Chairman of the Connecticut Citizens Committee is Greenwich financier Gordon W. Reed; John Lupton is its full-time state director.

Predictably, acceptance of the new organization by Republican Chairman Searle Pinney and the Liberal State Central Committee has been slow in coming. Lupton's emergence as a proven leader with the ability to unite the conservatives threatens their tenuous hold on power. In a debt-ridden party already torn by factionalism and defeat, aspiring candidates envy Lupton's political sex appeal, and the petty chieftains fear the invasion of their private fiefs by the Citizens. This coalition, willing to sacrifice party welfare for personal ambition, has a common target: John Lupton.

At a meeting of the State Central Committee nearly a year ago, Chairman Pinney (reneging on a previous pledge) rejected the Citizens Committee on the grounds of Lupton's conservatism. "The Citizens Committee," said Pinney, "should be operated in a professional manner without forays into philosophy, and this . . . would be extremely difficult if its leader were completely identified with an extreme viewpoint."

The Press & Pinney

Pinney's stand was attacked by a surprising portion of the press. Declared the *New Haven Register*: "State Chairman Pinney is . . . illogical when he identifies Lupton with an 'extreme viewpoint' in Republican terms. Was it extremism that made Lupton a front runner among all Republican candidates in the last state election?" The *Windsor Locks Journal* was even more blunt: "The Citizens Committee is going places in Connecticut whether the always smug State Central Committee—that could not win an election in nine years now—thinks so or not."

Lupton simply shrugged off the whole furor. "The Citizens Committee is a new political concept. The time will come when party leaders understand its value. And remember, they never kick a dead horse," he commented, and went to work.

And work he has. In the scant nine months since its formation, Citizens has earned the respect of hard-working party regulars. Recruits sign up daily, pledging time and money to the cause of rebuilding the Republican Party. Citizens now provides services to the party at a rapid rate—political workshops, literature, regular newsletters, research and technical assistance to candidates. Four full-time offices are open, a state headquarters in Hamden (a New Haven suburb), and city offices in Hartford, Bridgeport and Water-

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Principles and Heresies

The Court Challenges the Congress

FRANK S. MEYER

USURPATION of power when allowed to go unchallenged breeds arrogance, irresponsibility and further usurpation. The history of the Supreme Court in our generation is far too apt a case in point.

Meyer

When the Liberals first gained control of that branch, as a result of Franklin Roosevelt's pressures and Charles Evans Hughes' surrender, they moved reasonably cautiously. They utilized the Court primarily as a second echelon, supporting the President and his bureaucracy in their assault on the Constitution. In these years, also, the foundation for the present Court's constitutional irresponsibility was thoroughly laid, as the cynical legal positivism of the dissenting minority of the era of Justice Holmes became the guiding doctrine of the Court in its majority. That doctrine, which has frequently been summed up in the adage, "The Constitution is what the Court says it is," takes on a more sinister hue when it is carried from the genial cynicism of the law school lecture room into the precincts of actual power. In the hands of the epigonoi of the Anglo-American legal tradition who make up the present Supreme Court majority, it means quite simply: "Ignore both the written word of the Constitution and the tradition of precedent. Do whatever your prejudices or your ideology lead you to do."

DURING THESE years the Court was never effectively chastised either for its participation in the Presidential distortion of the constitutional balance with the Congress and the several states, or for its more and more open substitution of its own ideological prepossessions in the stead of juridical interpretation of the Constitution, as the stuff of its decisions. So, when the time was ripe, its initial usurpations unchallenged, it proceeded to major usurpations. When the tempo of the revolution was slowed down by the steady refusal of the Congress to enact into law the ideological blueprints demanded of it by President after President, the Court took over. Ten years ago, in *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, it boldly usurped the legislative powers reserved by the Constitution to the Congress and the legislatures of the several states and promulgated a dictate affecting the lives of individual citizens, the sovereignty of the states, and the prerogatives of the Congress.

NEITHER of the coequal powers of the Federal Government opposed this rape of the Constitution. The Congress remained quiescent; Eisenhower and Kennedy—in sharp contrast to Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln in parallel situations—hastened to enforce the Court's palpably unconstitutional edict. Usurpation breeds usurpation. In a series of decisions in the last two or three years, the Court has legislated God out of the public school system; in *Baker* v. *Carr* it tore from the states their control over their own legislative processes. Still Congress remained quiescent and Presidents put the massive power of the federal executive at the disposal of the Court's legislative usurpation.

Last month, swollen with pride and power, the Justices turned their attention to legislating for the Congress itself. In the Georgia case on apportionment of congressional districts, the Court thrust aside with hardly a glance the unconditionally explicit language of Article 1, Section 4 and 5 of the Constitution, which gives to the Congress sole power over the conditions of election of Representatives —excepting only (Article I, Section 1) that the electors "shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature" and that Representatives "shall be apportioned among the several States . . . according to their respective numbers." Dragging up from the depths of their egalitarian ideology the concept—laughable to any student of the Constitution's formation—that in the minds of the Framers this meant "one man, one vote" in mathematically precise style, the majority of the Justices are attempting to seize from Congress its constitutional control over elections and to impose upon the country their prejudices in favor of box-like congressional districts in place of established constitutional practice. As Justice Harlan said in his eloquently reasoned dissent, the decision of the majority is "manufactured out of whole cloth."

The irresponsibility of this decision is manifest in its challenge to the legitimate tenure of nine-tenths of the present Representatives and in the potential chaos into which it throws the congressional elections of 1964. But these are secondary evils. The primary question facing the country is the principled question whether the Court is to be allowed to continue upon its course to the total destruction of constitutional balance of powers. That balance of powers, magnificent political concept though it is, has never been self-enforcing. It has depended upon the utilization by the coordinate branches of government of the power invested in each of them to prevent any other of them from getting out of hand.

THE gage is now sharply thrown down before the Congress—and the Congress has the constitutional power to accept the challenge and cut short the Court's usurpations. In the present instance of the Georgia case, the Congress can by joint resolution affirm its constitutional powers and nullify the decision. Further, as far as the general usurpation of the Court is concerned, the Congress has the power to bring it under control. Article III, Section 2 of the Constitution clearly limits the Court's appellate jurisdiction to such bounds as the Congress may ordain. That jurisdiction, as presently exercised, has become a menace to the constitutional balance of powers. It is up to the Congress to right the balance.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Religious Instruction: A Natural Right

Edmund Burke declared that one of the most important *real* natural rights was the right to instruction in life—along with the right to consolation in death. He meant primarily *religious* instruction, of which the French revolutionaries were depriving the French nation.

Kirk

Christianity and Judaism in America will not be overthrown by violence; but the whole religious foundation of our civil social order may be undone by a doctrinaire league of our omniscient Supreme Court with the arrogant secularism of certain educationists. Two recent books make it clear how real this peril has become.

Two Examples

One of these books is *To Pray or Not to Pray,* by Charles Wesley Lowry (The University Press of Washington, D.C., student edition, $2.75). Dr. Lowry is the head of the respected Foundation for Religious Action in the Civil and Social order (Dupont Circle Building, Washington, D.C.), a tax-exempt association which costs only a few dollars a year to join, and which I commend heartily to all readers of this page.

The other book is *The Messianic Character of American Education*, by Mr. Rousas J. Rushdoony (Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, Philadelphia, $6.50). Mr. Rushdoony, a Calvinist clergyman and scholar, holds a higher degree in education.

To Pray or Not to Pray is "a handbook for study of recent Supreme Court Decisions and American Church-State Doctrine" and extremely useful. Dr. Lowry, an Episcopalian, the author of the well-known *Communion and Christ,* demonstrates through documents that there is no sound basis for the notion (though it is entertained by the Supreme Court today) that the first clause of the First Amendment prevents religious instruction in public schools. Interference with such instruction is not only unpopular; it is bad law, in which conclusion Dr. Lowry is reinforced by Dean Erwin R. Griswold and other authorities. As Mr. Lowry sees the Court decisions which give arrogant secularism a monopoly of public schools:

> Can it be said that what has happened is the result of changing public opinion and is therefore a true expression of American democracy? The answer would seem to be clearly in the negative. All the evidence is that the overwhelming majority of our people accepted and approved the practices that have been struck down. Once again it is the Supreme Court that is ahead of the people and seeks to direct them, not in accordance with legal precedents but in obedience to current philosophical judgments. Opinion in the Court is, of course, not isolated. It exists among elite groups in the country as a whole and is expressive of an ideology that has been gaining adherents among American intellectuals. It has, however, picked up real speed only in the last generations. It is an ideology and its name is secular Liberalism.

The Messianic Character of American Education traces systematically the development, among educationists, of an anti-religious bigotry which seeks to supplant Christian and Judaic faith and learning by a muddy "religion of democracy"—the ideology to which Dr. Lowry refers. Mr. Rushdoony discusses Horace Mann, James G. Carter, Edward A. Sheldon, Henry Barnard, William Torrey Harris, John Swett, Charles de Garmo, Francis Wayland Parker, William James, Nicholas Murray Butler, G. Stanley Hall, Herman Harrell Horne, John Dewey, J. B. Watson, Carleton Washburne, Edward Lee Thorndike, Boyd H. Bode, William Heard Kilpatrick, Harold O. Rugg, George S. Counts, and Theodore Brameld—who, differing among themselves though they do, all have contributed to the secularizing of American schools.

"It is self-evident that on this scheme," Mr. Rushdoony concludes, "if it is consistently and persistently carried out in all parts of the country, the United States system of national popular education will be the most efficient and wide instrument for the propagation of Atheism which the world has ever seen." Mr. Rushdoony is referring immediately to the lectures of A. A. Hodge, in 1887, warning Americans against "the supremacy of the lowest common denominator"; but Supreme Court decisions and the concentration of power in an educationist bureaucracy now make it possible, unfortunately all too possible, to realize Hodge's grim prediction.

'Bootleg' Instruction

All schooling originated as religious instruction. If the whole religious foundation of education is demolished, the elaborate edifice of American public instruction cannot stand. Teachers must answer questions concerning the first principles of human nature, of the sciences, and of social order; and if they are forbidden to give religious answers, then they must give anti-religious answers—or else remain silent on the first concerns of the rising generation.

So in the name of the "rights" of a tiny minority of militant atheists and secularists, the American people are denied the fundamental natural right of religious instruction. True, they may seek it in Sunday schools; but an hour on Sunday has no chance against twenty-five hours or more of anti-religious state instruction the rest of the week.

Either such instruction is made constitutional again—through amendment or through the Supreme Court's reversing itself—or else we are going to have "bootleg" religious instruction in the public schools; for already many school districts are defying the Court's absurd decisions. The American people do not intend to be deprived of the most fundamental sort of knowledge.

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American Conservatism Today

FELIX MORLEY

For all whose concern with politics probes deeper than personalities this is an extraordinarily interesting book. A dozen intellectual leaders thunder eloquently from the Right on or around the issue of conservatism. Their barrage leaves the question of its essential nature unresolved, in spite of the valiant effort of editor Frank S. Meyer to prove the contrary. But that failure itself makes the often conflicting viewpoints in this symposium the more thought-provoking.

In his introductory essay Mr. Meyer freely admits that two distinct "streams of thought" are found "among the opponents of collectivism." He hopefully believes they can merge into "a single broad conservative political theory" since (shifting his metaphors) "they have their roots in a common tradition and are arrayed against a common enemy." Then, in a brief epilogue, editor Meyer maintains that this book demonstrates consensus amid divergence, "of the same quality as that which united those who created the Constitution and the Republic." He does not remind us that within three-quarters of a century this consensus was dissolved in blood.

Arranged in order of presentation the other contributors are: Russell Kirk, Willmoore Kendall, M. Stanton Evans, Wilhelm Roepke, F. A. Hayek, Stanley Parry, Stephen J. Tonsor, Garry Wills, John Chamberlain, Stefan T. Possony and William F. Buckley Jr. Excepting only Professor Hayek's "Why I Am Not A Conservative," a title certainly suggesting fundamental divergence, all of these presentations were written especially for this book. In consequence each of these writers is naturally concerned to emphasize and justify his personal viewpoint, leaving to the editor the invidious task of establishing a synthesis. It is this difficulty, inherent in the nature of the undertaking, which casts perhaps unjustified doubt on whether there actually is what Mr. Meyer calls "a common tradition." And even in regard to the obvious "common enemy" there is discord as to both the strategy and the tactics of defense.

What Is Conservatism?, edited by Frank S. Meyer. Holt, $4.95

Some of the contributors, Father Parry in particular, maintain vigorously that "ours is a Christian civilization." Others show absolutely no comprehension of his conclusion that "the only adequate response to our crisis is an authentic revitalization of divine revelation in the soul of every man." When Father Parry says that "Reason's contribution to this process is negative," Mr. Possony replies that the element of faith in politics is "little more than escapism." Nor is this dichotomy in fundamentals at all unusual. In his windup Mr. Meyer refers scathingly to "a vague internationalism, which characterizes the Liberal outlook." This emphasizes Professor Hayek's indictment of conservatism for "its hostility to internationalism and its proneness to a strident nationalism." Even a casual reader of the New Testament must conclude that "a vague internationalism" pervades the teachings of Christ, whether or not it also "characterizes the Liberal outlook."

Such revelations of basic disunity nevertheless give the collection the value that attaches to all honest soul-searching. These variations on the theme of conservatism should force every conscientious reader to re-examine his own convictions. Some will come down on the side of those who rank individual freedom as the primary desideratum; others will side with those who place this second to collective order. These "libertarian" and "traditionalist" positions, as Mr. Meyer classifies them, are not necessarily irreconcilable. But these essays clearly show that important concessions are essential, from both camps, if consensus is to be more than nominal.

One need turn no further than today's newspaper to see the political implications of the existing split. What about boycotts of trade with Communist countries? That offers no difficulty to Possony, whose article might well be titled "Guns, Not Butter." For him "trade policy must be adjusted [by Washington] to conform to strategic criteria." It is less simple if one agrees with Professor Roepke that: "Economic freedom is . . . an indispensable condition of the constitutional state and its loss entails the wreckage of that very state."

Instead of dismissing these contradictions as secondary it might be more helpful to examine them against the background of our two-party system. With the multiplicity of political groupings found under some representative governments it would be easy for a Goldwater, a Nixon, a Rockefeller and others to be consistent in their campaigning. But no definite plebiscite is offered by our Presidential primaries. On the contrary, the Republican nominating convention, assuming that party to be more generally conservative than its rival, will select the candidate considered most likely to have maximum appeal for widely differing types of voters. Since no man can fit neatly into such a procrustean bed, our politics in practice cannot be steadfast. This is confirmed by a glance at the current contortions of the presumable Democratic candidate, in his admittedly skillful effort to prove that he can be all things to all men.

This observation is in no way in-

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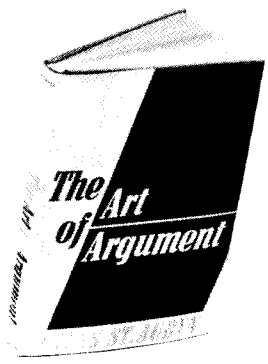

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tended as a criticism of two-party government, the mechanical advantage of which should be clear to all. It is made to emphasize what the book we are considering tends to overlook—the actual revolution that has come as this country moved from a federal towards a unitary type of government. When people still said: "The United States are. . . ." it made no odds that the Democratic Party in Mississippi was wholly different from that in Maine; nor that Wisconsin Republicans habitually disagreed with those in Pennsylvania. That ceased to be true when we chose to say: "The United States is. . . ."

With this weakening of the federal concept the internal disunity of nationwide parties has been magnified. To meet the problem we have the almost instinctive effort to realign, under conservative *v.* Liberal nomenclature. But this, as demonstrated by the volume at hand, is hampered by the difficulty of defining American conservatism in meaningful positive terms.

The effort, however, must be continued. And I venture the suggestion that it would be helped by careful consideration of whether a traditional conservatism in the United States is possible. The point is raised only once in the symposium at hand, when Professor Tonsor refers rather contemptuously to assertions that "there can be no genuine American conservatism because America lacks . . . a privileged aristocracy and establishment." That thesis, however, is wholly valid. All historic conservatism has been associated with privilege, though the phrase *noblesse oblige* lingers to remind us that those privileged were expected to accept unusual responsibilities to offset unusual rights. Unless it be organized labor, we have no privileged class in the United States today and not many labor leaders regard themselves, or are regarded, as conservatives.

American conservatism, to this reviewer, is simply Constitutionalism, in a strict rather than pliable interpretation. Several contributors to the present volume obviously agree. Yet the only one who seeks to hammer the point home is Willmoore Kendall, whose elfin delight in circumlocutions unfortunately obscures his argument. Stanton Evans also has the thought clearly but his contribution suffers from being disappointingly brief. Possony, however, seems to lack not only sympathy for, but even understanding of, this carefully balanced basis of American conservatism. For this type of authoritarian conservative Mr. Evans has a tart description: "He merely wants to be the person doing the enforcing."

These essays, in short, are not of uniform value, either from a philosophic or literary viewpoint. Some, notably that by Father Parry, will prove enduring; a couple are scarcely more than journalistic jottings. Very appealing, by their combination of good writing and good humor, are the thoughts contributed respectively by Russell Kirk and William F. Buckley Jr. The former happily punctures the strange belief that our folkways ever can, or should be, enforced on others. The latter recounts inner sanctum experiences whereby, as editor of NATIONAL REVIEW, he has discovered "some of the confines of contemporary conservatism."

Within these fairly spacious boundaries there is still much soil analysis to be done. *What Is Conservatism?* has spread interesting samples on the laboratory table. But it leaves room for many more books to tell us more specifically just what American conservatism is.

American conservatives are united in opposition to the growth of government power—of what is known as the welfare state—and to the centralization of that power in the federal executive; they are opposed to the characteristic leveling egalitarianism of the time, an egalitarianism they see expressed on every level—political, social, economic, intellectual—of our national life; they reject what they consider the presently established national policy of appeasement and retreat before Communism, and they stand for firm resistance to its advance and for determined counterattack as the only guarantee of the survival of the American Republic and of our institutions generally. . . .

—Introduction, *What Is Conservatism?*

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Fiction

The Way We Live Now

JOAN DIDION

I think all Americans who have wandered from their birthplace—and that includes most of my generation—carry with them a guilty feeling often disguised as 'nostalgia.' They wouldn't dream of returning to roam in the house where they were born (even if it hasn't been torn down) but they sometimes feel that 'life would have been simpler' if they had. T. E. Matthews

When did music come this way?
Children dear, was it yesterday? Matthew Arnold

LET ME TELL YOU something first: I am in my late twenties, a relatively articulate member of the most inarticulate segment of the middle class, the kind of woman who sets store by her great-grandmother's orange spoons, by well-mannered children, by the avoidance of chic and by a sense of sin. I remember learning more about orange spoons than about sin from the Episcopal Church, in which I was christened and confirmed (and in which I was told, when I said I feared death, that there was no hell; "only different levels of heaven"); I learned even less from the Catholic Church, in which I was married (the boundary between mortal and venial sin, I was told when I expressed concern, "differs from parish to parish"). It has sometimes occurred to me that sin, as a helpful abstract in these bountiful times, is pretty much left to those of us who prize it.

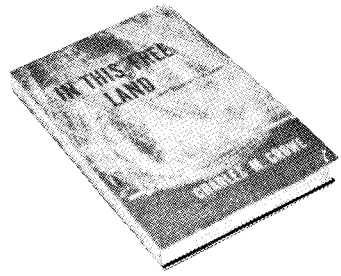
The Wapshot Scandal, by John Cheever. Harper, $4.95

In those ways, if in no others, I might be one of John Cheever's characters, those driven creatures who categorize their sins of omission and commission with as much satisfaction as those of more faith count off their beads; a heightened interest in good and evil is what is left of those of us who prize faith but lack it. *There is sin in fear, sin in sloth, how many angels on the head of a fat man*: the pervasive importance of sin is the fragment we shore against our ruin. Cheever's one great story—told and retold in all its variations, in all its inversions, through his short stories, through *The Wapshot Chronicle*, and now through *The Wapshot Scandal*—is of children led astray by natural error and inflexibly punished, banished from the Eden that lies all around us.

He writes about the kind of man who burns with sad pure lust for the babysitter, about the kind of woman who cries for her errors when she overhears a stranger ordering flowers for a funeral, because it occurs to her that one day she will herself be "the subject of some such discussion in a flower shop, and close her eyes forever on a world that distracted her with its beauty." (To forestall this fate, Melissa Wapshot runs off to Rome with a grocery boy, and it is Cheever's genius that she seems less absurd than tragic, grieving in a *Supra-Marketto Americano* and "gathering her fantastic garland not of cornflowers, nettles and long purples, but of salt, pepper, Bab-o, Kleenex, frozen codfish balls, lamb patties, hamburger, bread, butter, dressing, an American comic book for her son and for herself a bunch of carnations.") Life has somehow bewildered these Cheever people, left them bereft of something—they forget just what it is—once promised. One thinks of W. H. Auden's line: *Lost in a haunted wood, children afraid of the night who have never been happy or good.*

But there is a difference between Auden's children and Cheever's children, and the difference is vital to understanding Cheever. Cheever's children *have* been happy or good, or think they have been; they remember it, or believe they do. It has something to do with their childhood, something to do with where they came from. The narrator of "Torch Song" is disturbed to see, with a

A Case for Responsible Conservatism



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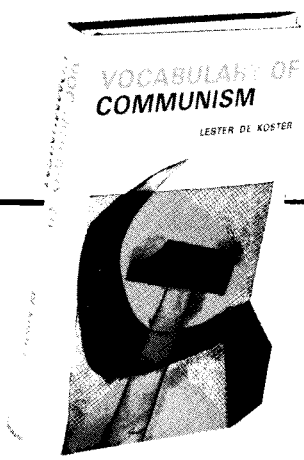

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THE AUTHOR

is a professor of speech and director of the library at Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Michigan. He holds the B.A. degree from Calvin College, and M.A. degrees in philosophy and library science from the University of Michigan. He has also written *Communism and Christian Faith*, published by Eerdmans in 1962.

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drunk in Grand Central Station, a girl with whom he had grown up in Ohio; "it troubled Jack to see in these straits a girl who reminded him of the trees and the lawns of his home town." The wife in "A Season of Divorce" tends her sick children and recalls a more promising time, when she was at Grenoble and wrote a paper in French on Charles Stuart. "A professor at the University of Chicago," she adds, "wrote me a letter." In *The Wapshot Scandal*, Coverly Wapshot wonders whether, when he arrives home for dinner, his unhappy wife will be watching television, whether his son will be in tears, whether in fact there will be any dinner, and "some vision of St. Botolph's in the light of a summer evening" appears to him: "It was that hour when the housewives called their children in for supper with those small bells that used to be used for summoning servants to the table. Silver or not, they all had a silvery note and Coverly recalled this silvery ringing now from all the back stoops of Boat Street and River Street, calling the children in from the banks of the river."

IT IS NOT merely of St. Botolph's that Coverly mourns—St. Botolph's, where Wapshots had always lived until Coverly and his brother Moses banished themselves from its summer light; it is something larger than St. Botolph's, and Coverly is not alone in mourning it. As the narrator of "A Season of Divorce" explains, of himself and his wife: "We both come from that enormous stratum of the middle class that is distinguished by its ability to recall better times. Lost money is so much a part of our lives that I am sometimes reminded of expatriates, of a group who have adapted themselves energetically to some alien soil but who are reminded, now and then, of the escarpments of their native coast."

Lost money, the recollection of better times, silver bells ringing children in from play: the twilight world of the old American middle class is indeed a lost world, as lost as Czarist Russia or the antebellum South, and like both those countries of the mind it has become a dream that in some respects never was, an imagined territory capable of paralyzing its exiles.

Paralyzed, they wonder why their circumstances had "appeared to offer something better," wonder what

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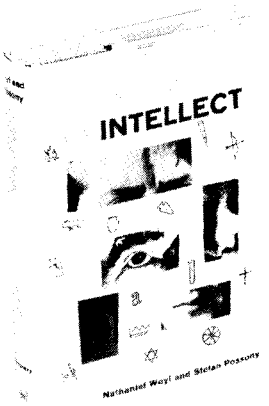

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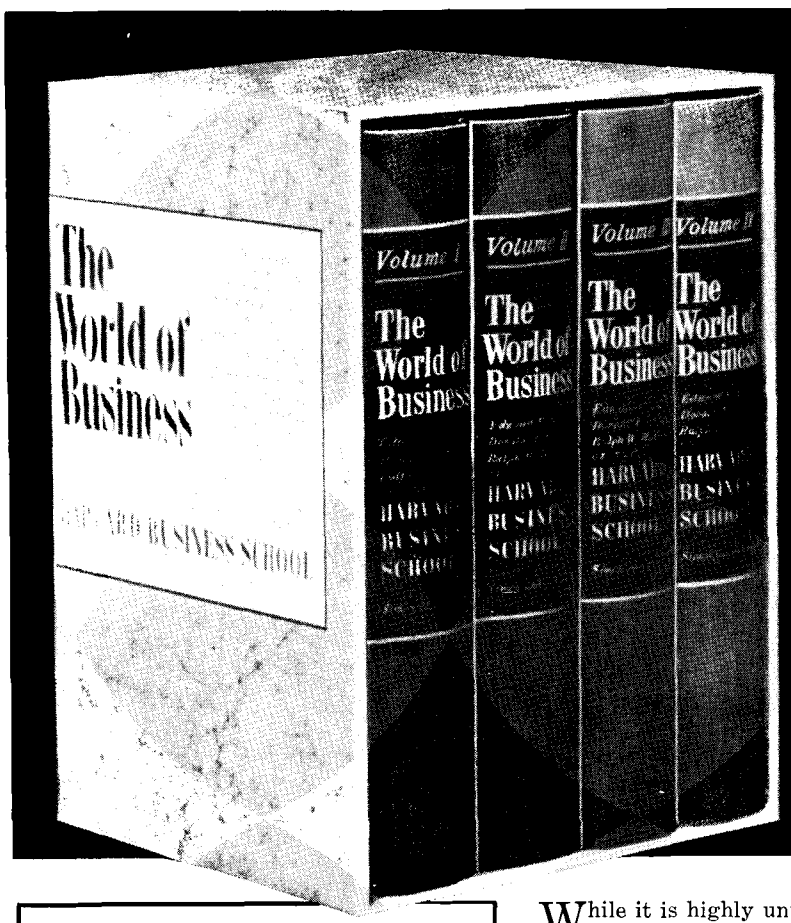

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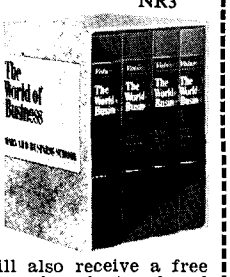

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stands between them and "what they deserved." They sense in themselves, as a character in *The Wapshot Scandal* senses in herself when she can get no one to repair a sewer line, a kind of "tragic obsolescence."

Adrift in "a world that seemed to be without laws and prophets," they try with an almost superstitious fervor to apply the standards they learned as children; they fail. Like Coverly Wapshot, they try to judge themselves "along traditional lines," and end up yearning only for the immortality of someone like Honora Wapshot, for the constant presence of someone who will "punish his and his brother's wickedness with guilt, reward their good works with lightness of heart, pass judgments on their friends and lovers." Banished from paradise, Cheever's children count their sins, try for goodness in a world they fail to understand, and love life the more because they so fear death. I can think of no other writer today who tells us so much about the way we live now.

C. S. Lewis: 1898-1963

JEFFREY HART

FOR AT LEAST two generations most of the notable Christian intellectuals in England and America, such men as Eliot, Waugh, and C. S. Lewis, have been converts. No doubt this reflects a kind of reversal that has taken place in the religious situation during the past seventy-five years. In the nineteenth century, ordinary people were Christians, and knew a good deal about their religion in a traditional way, while the advanced figures were agnostic readers of Huxley, Spencer, Butler, and the like. Today, in contrast, Christianity in any doctrinal or historical sense has next to no meaning for the population at large, but possesses extraordinary intellectual vitality. It is even aggressive intellectually.

Letters to Malcolm: Chiefly on Prayer, by C. S. Lewis. Harcourt, $3.50

The fact that they are converts, however, involves these Christian intellectuals in certain disabilities. For the convert, belief can seldom be the natural thing it was for the older sort of Christian. Eliot has spoken of this in his poem on Christmas trees, and C. S. Lewis writes poignantly of it in his last book, a series of superb letters to a friend on the subject of prayer. He cannot, he says, address God in a direct and uncomplicated way: "For those in my position—adult converts from the *intelligentsia*—that simplicity and spontaneity can't always be the starting point. . . . We have to work back to the simplicity a long way round." None of these men, certainly, would wish it to be a long way round, and yet because it is, because Christianity has been for them a consciously conceived acquisition, they have a special kind of value as Christian writers. In their different modes, as essayists or poets or novelists, they allow us to see a great system of meaning gradually being recovered, a tradition being re-imagined in all its depth and complexity.

This process results in a Christian life rather different in shape from the classic pattern to be found in Augustine, Dante, and Bunyan. To consider only one of its features, the beginning is not, usually, an overwhelming sense of *sin,* but rather an intimation that something is wrong—that wrong notes are being heard, that there are gaps in the accepted account of things. Take the case of Chesterton. "I was," he says, "a pagan at the age of twelve, and a complete agnostic by the age of sixteen. . . . I never read a line of Christian apologetics. . . . It was Huxley and Herbert Spencer and Bradlaugh who brought me back to orthodox theology. They sowed in my mind the first wild doubts of doubt." The writer, then, *notices something*: somewhere in the system of regnant ideas and assumptions there is a scandal—a false bias, an omission, an impoverishment. It may be only a detail, but it is of monumental importance. He is like that man in Auden's poem who finds *on the tennis court one morning/Outrageous, the bloody corpse.*

IN 1922 C. S. Lewis, then a don at Oxford, and as a matter of course an atheist, noticed something odd about the books he admired. I would like to quote at some length the passage about this from his autobiography, for it is a rich one, not only because of its meaning in his life, or because it is in so many ways representative, but also because it exhibits one of the most important, and subversive, uses of literature: as a reservoir of possibilities that, to say the least, are not prominent in our culture:

> George Macdonald had done more to me than any other writer; of course, it was a pity he had that bee in his bonnet about Christianity. Chesterton had more sense than all the other moderns put together, bating, of course, his Christianity. Johnson was one of the few authors whom I felt I could trust utterly; curiously enough, he had the same kink.

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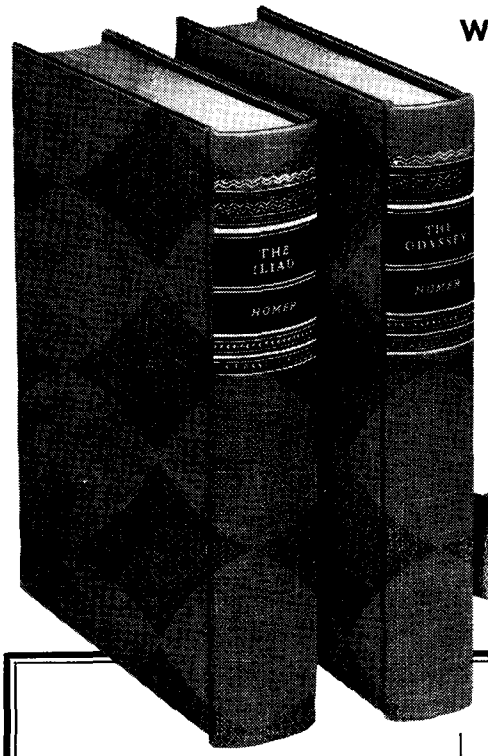

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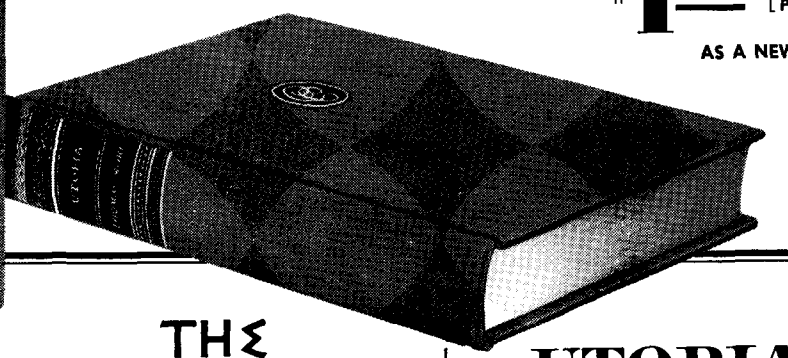

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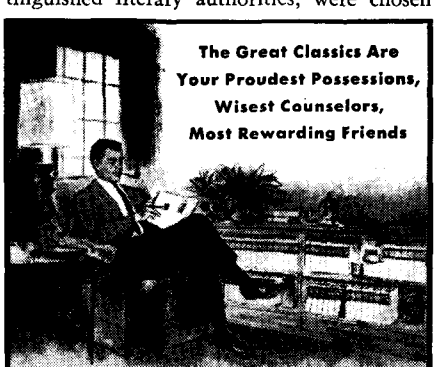

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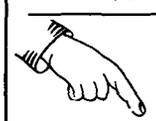

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Spenser and Milton had it too. Even among ancient authors the same paradox was to be found. The most religious (Plato, Aeschylus, Virgil) were clearly those on whom I could really feed. On the other hand, those writers who did not suffer from religion and with whom my sympathy ought to have been complete—Shaw and Wells and Mill and Gibbon and Voltaire—all seemed a little thin; what we as boys called "tinny." . . . The roughness and density of life did not appear in their books. . . . But the most alarming of all was George Herbert. Here was a man who seemed to me to excel all the authors I had ever read in conveying the quality of life as we actually live it from moment to moment; but the wretched fellow, instead of doing it directly, insisted on mediating it through what I would still have called "the Christian mythology."

The word "tinny" in this passage is splendid, for it is characteristic of such modern Christians as Lewis that they are especially sensitive to the *quality* of an idea. They ask instinctively whether it is adequate to the fullness of existence, or whether it is a narrower, more special thing. Santayana, not, of course, a Christian —doctrinally, at least—had such a criterion in mind when he remarked that lecturing on Locke after Spinoza was a "comedown."

During the next few years, Lewis' assumption that Christianity was "mythology" began to crumble. In an amusing passage he tells how in 1926 the hardest of all the atheists he knew sat by his fire and remarked that the evidence for the historicity of the Gospels was really surprisingly good. "Rum thing," said this friend. "All that stuff of Frazer's about the Dying God. Rum thing. It almost looks as if it had really happened once." Lewis himself became "too experienced in literary criticism to regard the Gospels as myths. They had not the mythical taste." Re-examining his assumptions, he was forced to abandon the widespread notion that "whatever has gone out of date is on that account discredited." He saw that "you must find out why it went out of date. Was it ever refuted (and if so by whom, where, and how conclusively) . . . ?" By such steps—and part of the drama is in the reluctance with which he took them ("April is the cruellest month . . .")—he became a Christian.

Lewis was an orthodox Anglican,

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Random Notes

● MOVIES: The shooting of John Huston's and Dino di Laurentiis' *The Bible,* which will cost eleven million dollars and have everybody in its cast, is scheduled to make it through Abraham by the end of the year. . . . *Ladybug, Ladybug,* the ban-the-Bomb and save-the-children meller, is quietly being withdrawn, as no one seems to want to see it. . . . The Belgian Experimental Film Festival at Knokke staged the second riot over Jack Smith's *Flaming Creatures,* a you-have-to-see-it-to-believe-it Dada item. The first was in the Village some weeks ago, and the Belgian one exploded for the same reason: flat refusal of anybody to be responsible for its showing. Jonas Mekas, representative of the New York Film Cooperative sponsoring the American showings, tried to capture the projector, failed (the Belgians cut off the electricity), and showed the film in a hotel lobby. The Festival finally tried to do something nice and gave Jack Smith a prize for having submitted a movie too shocking to be shown, *Grand Prix, Film Maudit.* . . . United Artists will film the Broadway musical *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum,* that splendid romp from the original Joe Miller, Titus Maccius Plautus . . . . André Barret and Robert Laffont plan to make a movie of André Maurois' *Don Juan, or The Life of Lord Byron.* . . . Robert Morse moves to the screen in Evelyn Waugh's *The Loved One.*

● BEAUTIFUL LETTERS: James Wakefield Burke, the novelist, has been commissioned to ghost the memoirs of *both* Mrs. Lee Harvey Oswald and Jack Ruby.

● BOOKS: Two excellent books of photographs: Charles Oorthuys' *Term in Oxford,* introduction by Alan Bullock, Viking, $12; and Alan Burnham's *New York Landmarks,* introduction by Brendan Gill, Wesleyan University Press, $12.50. . . . Vance Packard's new book, *The Naked Society,* to be published by McKay next month, deals with public snooping on private affairs in the name of sociology and statistics . . . . C. S. Lewis' posthumous, *The Discarded Image: An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature,* will be brought out by Cambridge University Press next month. . . . Beacon has put into paperback the two books by James Agee of film criticism and scripts, *Agee on Film: Reviews and Comments* ($2.45) and *Five Film Scripts (Noa Noa, The Blue Hotel, The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky, The African Queen,* and *The Night of the Hunter)* $2.75.

and he was not at all hospitable to some of the tendencies that can be discerned in that denomination. His last book opens with an attack upon liturgical innovation. "The perfect church service would be one we were almost unaware of; our attention would have been on God. But novelty prevents this; and thinking about worshipping is a different thing from worshipping. . . . A still worse thing may happen. Novelty may fix our attention not even on the service but on the celebrant. . . . Try as one may to exclude it, the question 'What on earth is he up to now?' will intrude."

He even has reservations about a vernacular liturgy, saying: "If you have a vernacular liturgy you must have a changing liturgy; otherwise it will finally be vernacular only in name. . . . No living language can be timeless."

Appropriately enough, *Letters to Malcolm* closes with a letter, perhaps the last thing Lewis wrote, in which he decisively but gently dissociates himself from the Liberal or "demythologized" Christianity currently being articulated by the Bishop of Woolwich. This, he says, "can only supply an ineffectual echo to the massive chorus of agreed and admitted unbelief." As usual, Lewis is perfectly right.

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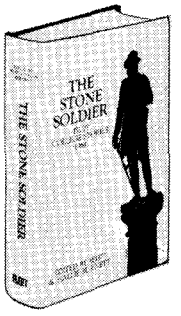

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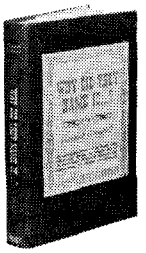

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The Craft of Objectivity

THOMAS A. LANE

IN VIEW OF the security conditions of CIA activity, Mr. Dulles' story is necessarily limited to information which is already public property. He lightens the heavy fare of intelligence routine with examples of success and failure from recent history; but he avoids the great intelligence questions of our time. Nevertheless, in a perverse and unintended way, he has shed important light on those questions. The tenor of his comment suggests that Allen Dulles has not grasped the fundamentals of his craft.

The Craft of Intelligence, by Allen Dulles. Harper, $4.95

Intelligence is above all else the craft of objectivity. Its perfection demands imagination and comprehensive knowledge and indomitable purpose—but above all, objectivity. For intelligence is the art of deception in practice, and no man is more easily deceived than the one who embraces illusion. Prejudice is the fabric of intelligence failures.

Mr. Dulles confirms some past failures which have been screened from the American public. The late Senator Joseph McCarthy would be pleased to see even at this late date an official admission that ". . . the Soviets had over forty high-level agents in various departments and agencies in Washington during WW II." Admiral Kimmel and General Short of the Pearl Harbor pillory would be glad to see their stories confirmed in a reference to "the attacks on Hawaii and the Philippines and the mishandling of intelligence we then had. . . ." Mr. Dulles categorically denies the canard that intelligence estimates for the Bay of Pigs invasion anticipated a mass uprising of the Cuban population.

Perhaps the Warren Commission on the assassination of President Kennedy should take judicial notice of the fact that political assassination is a working tool of the Khrushchev government and that its methods have been so perfected as to defy the counter-intelligence efforts of other countries. As Mr. Dulles explains, "The mysterious deaths in Munich in 1957 and 1959, of Lev Rebet and Stephen Bandera, leaders of the Ukrainian émigrés, were managed with a cyanide spray that killed almost instantly. . . . The truth became known only when the KGB agent Bogdan Stachinski gave himself up to the German police in 1961 and acknowledged that he had perpetrated both killings." Americans seem loath to believe Mr. Dulles' statement that "Since the earliest days of the Soviets, secret assassination has been an official state function assigned to the apparatus of the security service . . . carved out in such a way that the Soviet Government cannot be traced as the perpetrator."

Mr. Dulles notes that "One of the most successful long-range political deceptions of the Communists convinced gullible people in the West . . . that the Chinese people's movement was not Communistic, but a social and 'agrarian' reform movement." He does not observe that the "gullible people" included our intelligence services, the President of the United States, the State Department, almost the entire Congress, most of the press and most of the people in both political parties. This was not a

mere misjudgment of current events but total failure to identify and expose the deliberate intelligence plot of the enemy.

China was lost before Mr. Dulles joined CIA in 1950. Our interest is to learn whether his work was more objective than that of his predecessors.

Although the intelligence estimate of Communist Chinese intentions to enter the Korean War was made by others before Mr. Dulles joined CIA, he discusses and defends that appraisal. He does so without mentioning the most important relevant fact—that Burgess and Maclean were furnishing Soviet Intelligence full information on British-American intentions. When the enemy knows that you will accept defeat rather than use available atomic power, his decision is easy. Why didn't Mr. Dulles simply admit that Soviet penetration made our intelligence work a futile exercise in self-deception?

The world had been waiting years for the tyrant Stalin to die. When he did, President Eisenhower decided to do nothing, for fear of provoking war. The great opportunity of history passed, unused. What was the intelligence basis for this inexplicable decision? Silence.

In 1956, the Hungarian Army revolted against its Soviet masters, seized and held Budapest and the Budapest airport for five days. Why didn't the West rush military support and surveillance of the Soviet Army to the assistance of the legitimate government of Hungary? Did the intelligence estimate paralyze our President with fear? Silence.

The most flagrant recent intelligence failure was the misjudgment of Castro in Cuba. More than a year after Castro took power, when he had systematically replaced moderates with Communists in all key positions, when he had murdered the political opposition in Communist style repugnant to Latin American tradition, the Deputy Director of CIA testified to a congressional committee that he had no knowledge that Castro was a Communist. Does CIA presume every man to be a non-Communist until he admits party membership?

Mr. Dulles attributes such criticism of CIA to "hindsight specialists" and notes that "thousands of the ablest Cubans, including political leaders, businessmen and the military, who worked hard to put Castro in and were risking their lives and futures to do so, did not suspect that they were installing a Communist regime." I recall no other example of an intelligence expert excusing his failure by pleading that the public was also deceived. Of course the public assumed that anyone backed by the U.S. Government, with all the resources of CIA at its service, could not be a Communist.

Batista, having given full evidence of Castro's personal history to the U.S. Government, could not believe that the U.S. would in the showdown support Castro. Our allies never believe that we can be so grossly deceived. It was common knowledge in

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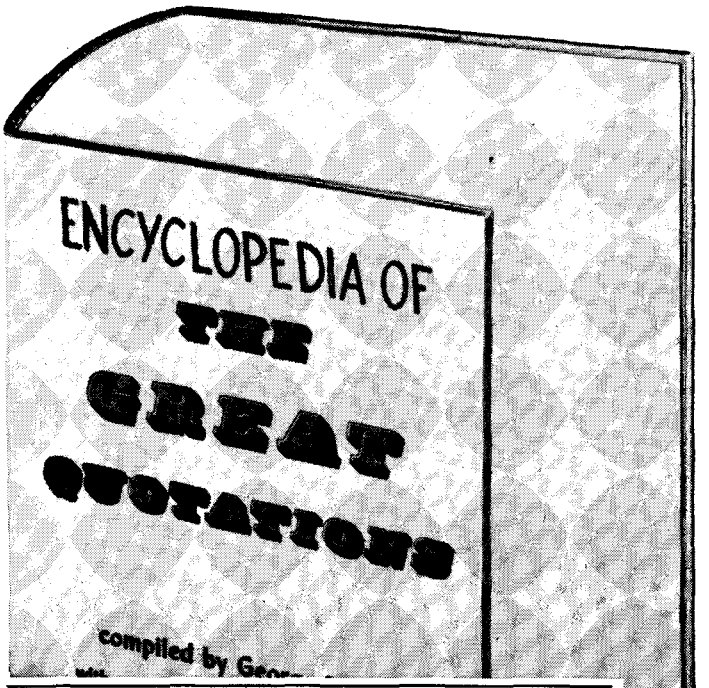

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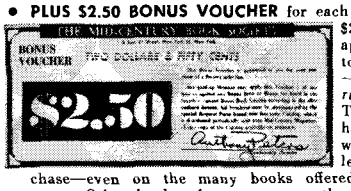

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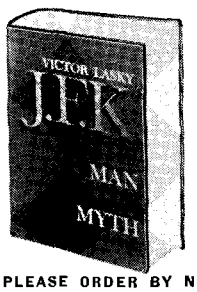

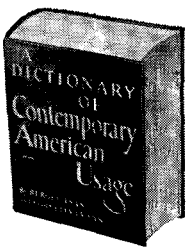

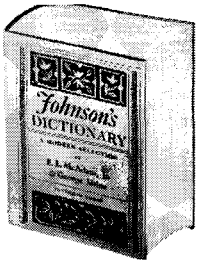

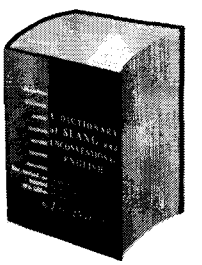

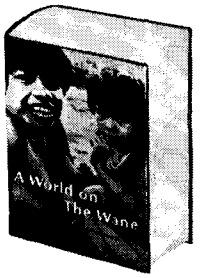

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the U.S. colony in Havana that the CIA man was the most enthusiastic Castro fan on the Embassy staff. How can an intelligence man be so biased? How can his superiors in Washington, receiving conflicting reports from other sources, fail to investigate and replace him? The reasonable assumption is that his superiors were receiving the reports they wanted to believe, that CIA was deceived by its own illusions.

Mr. Dulles defends the public handling of the U-2 incident. He does not explain why so great a triumph over Soviet technology, which was certain to be exposed in due course, had no plan for gaining maximum political advantage at the time of exposure. It was the Eisenhower behavior like a schoolboy caught stealing, rather than a statesman who is master of the occasion, which weakened U.S. prestige and self-confidence.

Although the law divorces CIA from policy making, the National Security Council places the CIA Director at the heart of policy making. This book indicates that Mr. Dulles became so steeped in the policies being made that he lost his capacity for objective judgment. He didn't like Batista. He did like Castro. But intelligence men cannot afford likes and dislikes. To an intelligence man, dictatorships and democracies are neither good nor bad; they are only friendly or hostile, stable or unstable, dangerous or not, as the facts indicate. The indication is very strong that Mr. Dulles lacked the objectivity which the craft requires.

Is it a serious mistake to make the CIA Director a member of the National Security Council? Is it a mistake to appoint a man of cabinet quality to the job? Would it be better for the Director to be off in a cubicle with his people, to report to policy makers only when called and only to report intelligence? The experience of recent history as it is confirmed in this book suggests that some such change may be one of our most urgent national requirements.

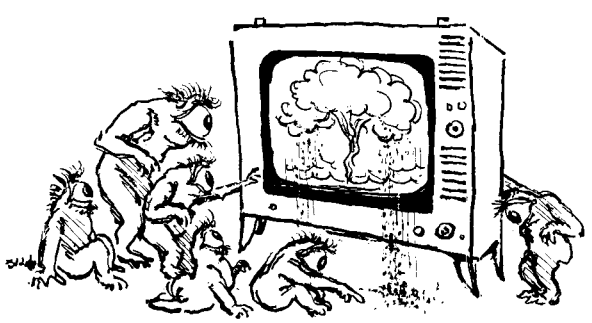
Science Fiction

One Prize, One Pleasure

THEODORE STURGEON

HOWEVER, Kingsley Amis remarked that the public attitude is simply: That can't be science fiction; it's good! And: That can't be *good*: it's science fiction! (I began this with "however" because it is the only time I have ever agreed with Kingsley Amis.) And it does indeed seem that the very best of science fiction can never enter the lists with its contemporaries, to be judged by whatever excellences it may intrinsically possess, while inferior science fiction (like *On the Beach* or *Fail-Safe*) can reach everywhere provided the reader isn't told it's science fiction.

Davy is a lovely book, a rollicking book, a cadenced, surprising, provocative and musical book. Like life itself, it is plotted not with contrivances, but mercilessly with things which can happen. The structure of the novel is astonishing, moving as it does on the periphery of a (future) historical event, not less than the establishment and fall of an American continental empire, describing it in terms of characterizations of the people who accomplished and lost it —and thereby describing it extremely well.



I sent the galleys to Robert A. Heinlein, purely because I think I know what he likes and I wanted to share this with him. He wrote:

> You are *so* right. . . . I was delighted with the book all the way through. It so happened that the book I read just before it was *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and I was struck throughout by certain similarities between the two books—by the ability of both Clemens and Pangborn to do their preaching unostentatiously through common and sometimes ludicrous incidents, but most of all by the sensuous delight of each writer in the music of idiom, Twain with a perfect ear for recalled idiom, Pangborn with a fine artistry in invented idiom. These two most dissimilar novels have a similar taste—and both are intensely moral books without being preachy.
>
> I was especially pleased by Pangborn's ability to use "taboo" words as if such taboos had never obtained —and I recalled that Mark Twain had been flayed by rightthinking critics for his vulgarity. No doubt Pangborn will receive the same sort of drubbing. But a creative artist is always drubbed by most critics.

I find it fascinating that this book should have evoked in Heinlein, whose eminence and orientation are in the heart of science fiction, the warm earthiness of *Huckleberry Finn*. Since this interchange, I have been, in the matter of *Davy*, in an attitude of silent prayer, hoping that St. Martin's would have the wit to release this into the mainstream. This they are doing, with a tasteful cover by Robert Finegold. For whatever they are worth, my gratitude and blessings.

The Wanderer (bearing no relationship to a book of similar title by a dissident actor, one is quick to announce) is science fiction in the best, brawliest, wonder-on-wonder tradition. Like the footnoted *Amazing Stories* of the thirties, the book embodies carefully worked-out, genuine *science*. Like the best of the Golden Age *Astounding Stories*, it is based on a single impossibility, and once you buy that, everything else follows logically. It is, however, a great deal more than this, because it is by Fritz Leiber, a writer of extraordinary resource. All his true loves are worked into the book: cats, astronomy, the theater, people, and, well, girls.

The central narrative (among a wealth of subsidiary ones) concerns a mixed group of "Saucer Students" ranging from plumbers to professors,

---

Davy, by Pangborn. St. Martin's, $4.95

The Wanderer, by Fritz Leiber. Ballantine, $.75

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from a ten-year-old girl to a doddering bus-driver, who together form the most gladdening gaggle of joyful adventurers since J. B. Priestly wrote *The Good Companions.*

Along with the wonder — real "sense-of-wonder" wonder it is too —and the joy, is a sprinkling of raw shock which you assimilate with all the aplomb of a man having a thumbnail snatched out. There is also a sequence for the aleurophiles out there in reader country beyond which you don't, you just do not go in the matter of loving cats. One way or another it's not for the kiddies; it's an Entertainment in the grand manner, making the reader, willy-nilly and head-over-heels, participate in the logical impossible.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, A BIOGRAPHY, by A. L. Rowse (Harper, $6.95). This is almost a life of Shakespeare as written by Falstaff—by an overbearing, effervescent hater of Puritans and pedants; a witty defender of the popular legends, (poached deer, schoolmaster-days and all); one who, even when not scholarly himself, is a great cause of scholarship in others. (Rowse the Elizabethan historian *is* a scholar, of course; but, in the field of literature, he is only a scholar in the sense that Falstaff was a knight.) This man does his babbling of green fields at the beginning (in a chapter on Warwickshire geography) rather than the end, and he seems to have picked up some of Pistol's bluster (he has things spring "fully grown from the brain of Athene"); but, like Falstaff, he claims that "the laws of England are at my command," that he will be intimate as no other with the Monarch. More sedate guardians of Shakespeare are trying to get him out of this rather wild, if winning, fellow's hands; and they will, in the end, succeed. But no one should regret the Prince of Poetry's days of notoriety spent in the company of Rowse. The future rule of Shakespeare in the court of scholars will be the better for these tavern episodes. G. WILLS

NATIONAL SECURITY, ed. by David M. Abshire and Richard V. Allen (Praeger, $10). This massive chrestomathy of political and economic lore bearing upon the successful conduct of the Cold War is the result of a conference held in Washington last year by the Georgetown Center for Strategic Studies. In its more than 1,000 pages, virtually every aspect of the struggle between East and West is authoritatively construed. Issues covered include the technological and strategic imperatives of victory over Communism, the critical role of nuclear weapons, first and second strikes and the mysteries of "escalation," foreign aid and the Alliance for Progress, "world opinion," disarmament, "growth," Sino-Soviet relations, etc. Examining these matters are the Director of the Center, Admiral Arleigh Burke, who introduces the discussion; Robert Strausz-Hupé; Kurt London; Richard Walker; Warren Nutter; Gerhart Niemeyer; Henry Kissinger; William Stokes; William Kintner; Herman Kahn; Stefan Possony; Edward Teller; Oskar Morgenstern; Karl Brandt; Roger Freeman; Gottfried Haberler; Glenn Campbell; and many others. From this regiment of scholars America's walkdown with Communism receives an analysis unparalleled in thoroughness and insight. The contents can hardly be suggested in so brief a compass, but Gerhart Niemeyer's discussion of Communist strategy—the best single essay on the subject this reviewer has ever seen—may be suggested as an example of the quality of thought and clarity of expression which prevail throughout. The book should be a standard work of reference for every student of Communism.

M. S. EVANS

YOUR HEART AND COMMON SENSE, by Robert J. Needles, M.D. (Frederick Fell, $5.95). Dr. Needles' engaging style is known to readers of NATIONAL REVIEW from his book reviews and from his stimulating contributions to Letters to the Editor; it will not surprise them to find his advice enjoyable to read as well as eminently sound. He very sensibly tells you *what a heart attack is like* and what *not* to worry about; the difference between *angina pectoris* and heart attacks; what to do in either case; what you can and should do as a heart patient. He stills needless fears and drains off the dread of the unknown and the poison of imaginative forebodings by telling you how to cooperate with the incredibly versatile and responsive human organism God gave you, as the doctor himself cooperates with it. It is a comforting book—not addressed to clinical statistics but to individual men and women in all their diversity . . . and perversity. E. MERRITT

THE STRATEGY OF DECEPTION: *A Study in World-Wide Communist Tactics,* edited by Jeane J. Kirkpatrick (Farrar, $6.00). A collection of sixteen essays on the Communist movement. Jeane Kirkpatrick's introduction sets an analytical tone of high quality for the book, representing a level of perception which picks up only after two slow-moving essays by Abba Lerner and John Kautsky. Kautsky goes to great lengths to prove that Lenin was a pretty bad fellow who developed Communism "away from its democratic-Marxist beginnings," and who viewed the Soviet dictatorship as "a state capitalism along German lines, with the members of the Communist Party replacing the Junkers and the big capitalists." Richard L. Walker contributes a tight chapter on the meaning of the "Chinese Revolution" and the role played in it by students and intellectuals (" 'The Chinese Revolution' offered a neat explanation and excuse for United States policy in China after World War II"), while Julian Gorkin and Ivo Duchacek vividly recount the Communist conspiracies in Spain and Czechoslovakia, respectively. Charles Burton Marshall's closing piece on the U.S. and the USSR in the UN emphasizes that to the Soviets, "the Charter and the pertinent organization are viewed in the special perspectives of Marxism- Leninism." Marshall also tells us that "neutralism is not a way of standing in the wings but a way of pushing to the center of the stage. It generally reflects not a simple meekness but the sort of meekness expectant of inheriting the earth." R. V. ALLEN

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To the Editor

Colleges and Public Decency

As a college student, I feel obliged to object to a number of the statements made by Mr. Russell Kirk ["Colleges and Public Decency," Feb. 11]. Here, in the great journal of American conservatism, I was astonished to find a call for the curtailment of personal freedom.

Schools, as has been pointed out, are for the education of the mind, not of the whole person. The need for "quasi-parental supervision" should have reached the vanishing point by the time a person enters college. While students are pursuing further knowledge, many of their former classmates are married and support families. Should not someone (perhaps the government) provide the supervision that they, too, need?

The conservative movement on American campuses today is prompted, to a great extent, by a desire to substitute personal responsibility for the paternalism of government. Yet here I find a conservative leader denying that such a responsibility exists.

Chicago, Ill. ERIC R. ZIEMER

It is entirely out of the bounds of official responsibility to attempt to control personal moral standards. Of course "a college is a place of learning and meditation" and that is the *only* thing with which college officials should concern themselves. If a student's personal conduct interferes with this purpose he should be thrown out on his ear; if he harms only himself and can still pass his exams, no one but his associates and family should attempt to influence his morals. Any other course degenerates into the coddling that Mr. Kirk both deplores and advocates.

Staten Island, N.Y. HAROLD SMITH

Goldwater v. Johnson

Although I fear that to dissent from Mr. Toledano, "than whom scarcely a man alive knows more about the ways of the nation's politics," is to place my intellectual self-esteem on the headsman's block, yet his reasons for presuming Goldwater to be capable of victory over Johnson [Feb. 11] seem to me so weak that I must risk the consequences.

It is naive to expect significant portions of Negroes, Irish and Jews to break their long-standing association with the Democratic Party between now and November. Why should Negroes, even those dissatisfied with the Democrats, desert Johnson for Goldwater, who has expressed antipathy toward the civil rights bill? Most Jews are not aware of anti-Semitism among Negroes, which in any case is very rare outside Harlem. It is unlikely that any Negro anti-Semitic action would cause Jews all across the country who have supported the Democrats for many years to leave the party within the next eight months. Conflict between Negroes and Irish is minor; in any case—and this is a point Mr. Toledano never sees — Johnson's Vice Presidential selection will be calculated to mend fences.

Can Johnson successfully defend Kennedy's foreign policy? Most likely, Johnson will be able to defend a policy that is leading toward a détente with Russia. It is the same policy that Eisenhower hoped the GOP would be defending in 1960, but was prevented from doing by the U-2 crisis. The Conservatives in Britain will also be standing on this policy this year and they know it is their only hope of salvaging their political fortunes. Certainly, according to calculations of many politicians, defense of a Cold War détente is an extremely strong position for an incumbent.

Can Johnson inject enthusiasm into the Democratic Party? Mr. Toledano calls this "perhaps the most important" question, and he is right. Probably Johnson can't arouse the party. But Goldwater most assuredly can. The prospect of Goldwater in the White House would forestall any Democratic trends toward disunity or complacency. Of all the GOP hopefuls, Goldwater is by far the most antagonistic to all Democrats. Furthermore, the party in the South is taking some pride in Johnson. Senators Russell and Byrd, among other Southerners, have already come to Johnson's aid in a way they never would have done for Kennedy.

Will not Goldwater's appeal to a sense of justice bring enthusiasm to the GOP such as it has long been lacking? In discussing this point, Mr. Toledano overlooks the fact that the pre-nomination campaign will involve embittered and divisive attacks (such as his own remarks about Rockefeller and Nixon) which will be anything but encouraging to the GOP rank-and-file voter. Only ideologues such as Mr. Toledano will find much sustenance there.

I am not writing, as Mr. Toledano obviously was, to boost one candidate at the expense of rational judgment. By the naiveté and unrealism of his

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analysis, Mr. Toledano can have done your readers little service.

Newark, N. J. FRANK MEYERS

She Loves Us

Truly you have a great magazine.

Adult philosophy on the Beatles is negative, but adults never tell us teens why they don't like them. All we get is a bunch of junk about "rebellion" and "femininity" etc.

And then, while reading your magazine, my tortured eye fell on an editorial about the Beatles [Feb. 25]. I shuddered, expecting to read why the Beatles should be banned from our civilization, or words to that effect. I discovered, to my surprise, the most sane judgment passed on the Beatles that I've ever read. You have taken them for what they are, not just for what they do. Congratulations!

Why do I like thee, NATIONAL REVIEW? Because thou art fair and not pigheaded.

Milwaukee, Wis. MARGO SENSENBRENNER

Offended

I was offended, as I am certain many other readers of NATIONAL REVIEW were offended, by the editorial notice you gave to Senator Margaret Chase Smith's announcement of her candidacy [Feb. 17]. The notice was tasteless and vulgar and I believe this gallant and charming woman deserves better at your hands. Were she nominated to that office by the Republican Party I would vote for her with confidence and absolute trust in her so frequently demonstrated abilities.

Ann Arbor, Mich. STEPHEN J. TONSOR

As an American, a Republican, and a conservative, I am concerned over the flippancy reflected in your words, "It will be more fun co-ed," regarding a most serious matter, the campaign for the Presidency. Senator Margaret Chase Smith's avowed candidacy is not only illogical (she herself so stated many reasons against it), but it also taints the image of masculine political authority with a feminine discoloration.

I know that I (along with millions of other Republicans) could not support a ticket bearing a woman for either one of the two top offices in the nation. In such matters, national obligations supersede party loyalties.

San Diego, Calif. L. STANLEY CHENEY

TV Talk

Apropos the article "The Hysteria

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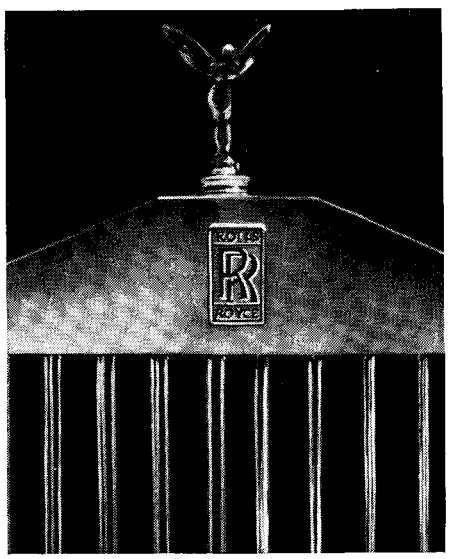

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About Words" [Feb. 11], I couldn't agree more heartily. The impoverished English and bad grammar our youngsters are exposed to daily on television is a disgrace. I'm so tired of hearing of things that are "real good," and Mommy fixing "healthy" meals, and crust that "eats as good as the bread." I'm glad there is someone still fighting to preserve English language.

Wyckoff, N. J. JANE H. WEBER

Erratum

In my brief review [Feb. 25] of Israel Kirzner's *Market Theory and the Price System,* some gremlins have me equating a single-firm industry in open competition with some "sort of government privilege," which of course I didn't write and certainly don't subscribe to.

Needless to say, I abhor government privilege in any form.

Princeton, N. J. WILLIAM H. PETERSON

SOLUTION TO LAST WEEK'S TRANS-O-GRAM (March 10)

Washington
FAREWELL ADDRESS

The habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another.

BROWNELL

(Continued from p. 232)

bury which are busy signing up new Republicans and putting them to work. Doorbell-ringing is now under way in city wards where voters have literally never seen a Republican worker before. As Lupton reasonably asks: "How can you make sales if you don't make calls?"

How can Republicans hope to appeal to the underprivileged city voter? Says Lupton: "Tell him the truth. Naturally Negroes resent their slum tenements. Who enforces the housing laws? Democrats. When garbage cans overflow and rats bite his children, who's to blame? Democrats. City problems grow worse every year. Who runs the cities? *Democrats,* and these people know it. Our Party has never bothered to explain to an unemployed laborer that while Demo-

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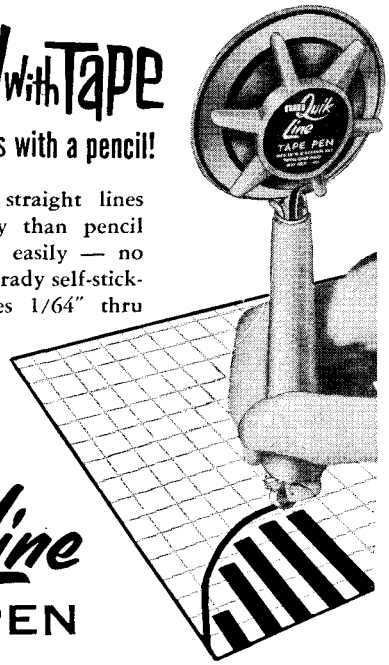

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crats may hand out welfare checks, the Republican way provides permanent jobs. And relief, as a way of life, can never compete with opportunity."

John Lupton believes Citizens is the way to "cope with COPE" and can be the antidote for the ADA. He sees the organization as a year-round rallying point for the thousands of unorganized conservatives who won't work with the regular party organization, but who need practical guidance in politics to achieve effective action. The theory works, for he is grooming some remarkably professional politicians. Citizens feel their big task now is building an organization which gives any Republican candidate a chance of being elected, but there is little doubt that most of them hope their hard work will pay off next November for Senator Barry Goldwater.

"In the past, conservatives have often been their own worst enemies," says John Lupton. "It may seem paradoxical, but to win the fight for *individual* freedom, conservatives must become *collective* or face defeat." He thinks Citizens offers a perfect opportunity for such a coalition, and a constructive way conservatives can strengthen and influence the national party that is closest to their point of view.

That advice seems to be paying off. As of today, Citizens Chairman Gordon Reed is the brand new Finance Chairman of the state GOP—a powerful position in the regular organization—and the Lupton-led Citizens Committee has just received recognition as the official ally of the Republican Party. All in all, a great victory for conservative forces in Connecticut.

TIRESIAS

(Continued from p. 229)

attributing to others qualities and capabilities which are singularly characteristic of the United States. Culturally, linguistically and traditionally, we have so little in common with our southern neighbors, that this disparity *must* be given paramount consideration in any national decisions regarding our relations with Latin America. That this statement is contrary to official thinking over the past forty years, far from debilitating the proposition, recommends it as a first step in revising ingrained errors in our Latin American doctrine, policy and strategy.

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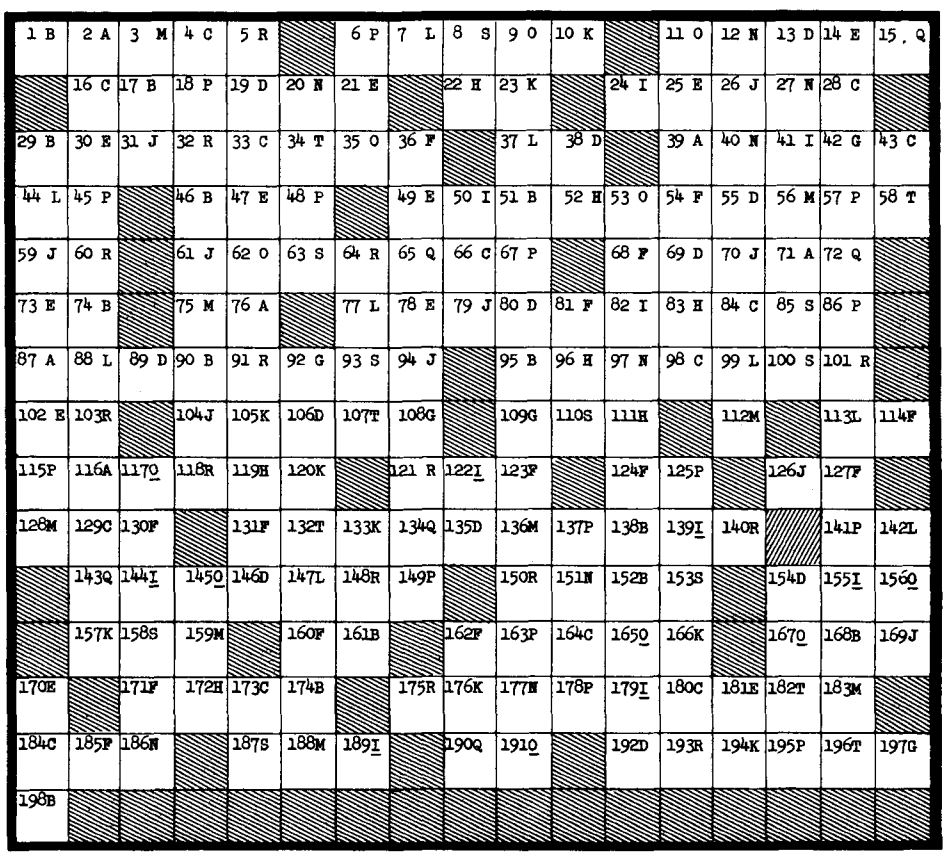
TRANS-O-GRAM

by Svend Petersen

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
A. The choicest part.	2 116 39 71 76 87
B. Ruling family to which Harun al-Rashid belonged (2 wds.).	17 95 138 152 161 168 198 29 46 51 1 74 / 90 174
C. Group to which St. George and ten others belong.	16 184 4 28 33 43 66 84 98 129 164 173 / 180
D. A largely aquatic mammal.	69 13 55 80 135 146 154 38 89 106 192 19
E. Pertaining to the intellectual pattern of any widespread movement.	73 21 25 47 14 78 181 30 49 102 170
F. "There are differences of _____s, but the same Lord."—I Cor. 12:5.	81 36 54 114 123 124 127 130 131 162 68 160 / 171 185
G. A Ceylonese aborigine.	92 197 42 108 109
H. The reflux of ocean water (2 wds.).	96 172 22 52 83 111 119
I. Association of workers (2 wds.).	139 122 24 50 82 144 155 179 189 41

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
J. Once advocated limited government.	169 126 61 70 94 104 59 26 31 79
K. River in Asia, 1350 miles long.	176 105 10 133 157 194 166 120 23
L. An Ostrogoth king.	7 88 99 142 113 147 44 37 77
M. Cross between an owl and a goat.	188 159 3 56 75 112 128 136 183
N. _____ hour.	40 177 186 12 20 27 97 151
O. Marble champ who made it big in Ebbets Field (2 wds.).	145 156 165 167 9 11 117 35 53 191 62
P. The chance of a lifetime (2 wds.).	163 18 45 115 57 137 86 195 6 48 178 67 / 125 141 149
Q. What most politicians avoid.	190 15 143 65 72 134
R. Censorship (2 wds.).	193 140 175 148 118 64 101 32 5 60 121 91 / 103 150
S. Republican representative from Colorado.	63 8 93 110 85 187 100 153 158
T. Symbol.	107 196 58 182 132 34

See page 251 for solution of last week's Trans-o-Gram.



DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out, it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black squares indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition.

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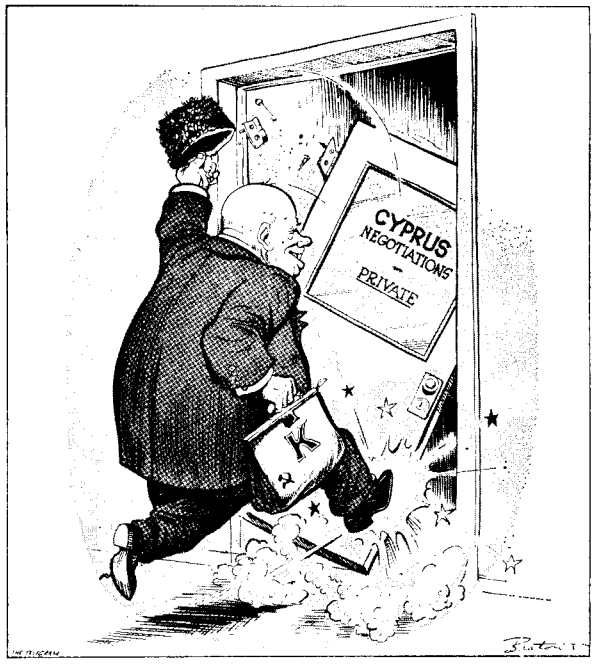
For The Record

Pollster Sam Lubell (he spotted Lodge as a sleeper in New Hampshire) warns that "many staunch Democrats" will abandon Lyndon Johnson if Johnson goes along with admission of Red China to the UN. Lubbell's figures (mid-March) indicate country is 60 per cent opposed to Peking's entry. . . . Committee of One Million, which has carried the ball on this one all along, urging Congress to make its opinion known explicitly by adopting another joint resolution vs. Mao and Co. . . . German Chancellor Erhard, in veiled warning, says Bonn would have to go along if U.S. reverses itself and recognizes Red China. . . . As for China's traveling medicine man, Chou En-lai, he says, in interview with Agence France Presse, that Communist China should get in because "[it] always will uphold the Charter of the United Nations." . . . The same week, the exiled Dalai Lama reported the Chinese were using public torture as an instrument of terror against Tibetans who remain in a state of chronic revolt five years after the Chinese conquest.



Beaton—Toronto Telegram Ben Roth Agency

Here's that man again!

Pittsburgh School Board admits it is discriminating against whites in its hiring practices. Under its "conscious preferment" plan, if a Negro and a white — with equal qualifications — apply for a job, the Negro will get it. . . . In Moscow, writer James Baldwin last week wrote in Izvestia that since the majority of Americans are not ready to grant Negroes freedom, "there are no words to describe the full horror of the life of American Negroes." . . . The new peace-pacifist-coexistence slogan for '64, according to Communist-lining National Guardian, will be short and sharp: "Get out of Vietnam." . . . It's true what they're saying about the World Federalists and SANE — you can expect an early summer wedding. . . . Little noted: that two Republicans were elected to Louisiana State Legislature earlier this month, a boost for Goldwater's Southern strategy.

Pulling the strings in Cyprus dispute is pro-Communist Dr. Vassos Lyssarides, Archbishop Makarios' personal physician. Lyssarides is credited with persuading Makarios to turn down proposal for NATO peace force in favor of a UN unit about which Soviet Union would have its say. . . . That non-Communist-dominated, or even infiltrated, new regime in Zanzibar waited until after Washington and London recognition to nationalize the clove trees — Z's main industry, providing 85 per cent of exports. . . . France's stake in stability in Gabon (it put down a revolt there a fortnight ago) is simple: Gabon supplies de Gaulle with a great deal of his uranium.

In England, political polls show a big shift towards the Conservatives. Labor, which had 12.5 per cent lead over Tories in December, is now down to 5.5 per cent lead. . . . Prime Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home given major credit, may call June election. (When a Labor MP charged in Parliament a week ago that the Conservatives advocate an economic free-for-all, Home quipped: "Better free for all than controls for all.")

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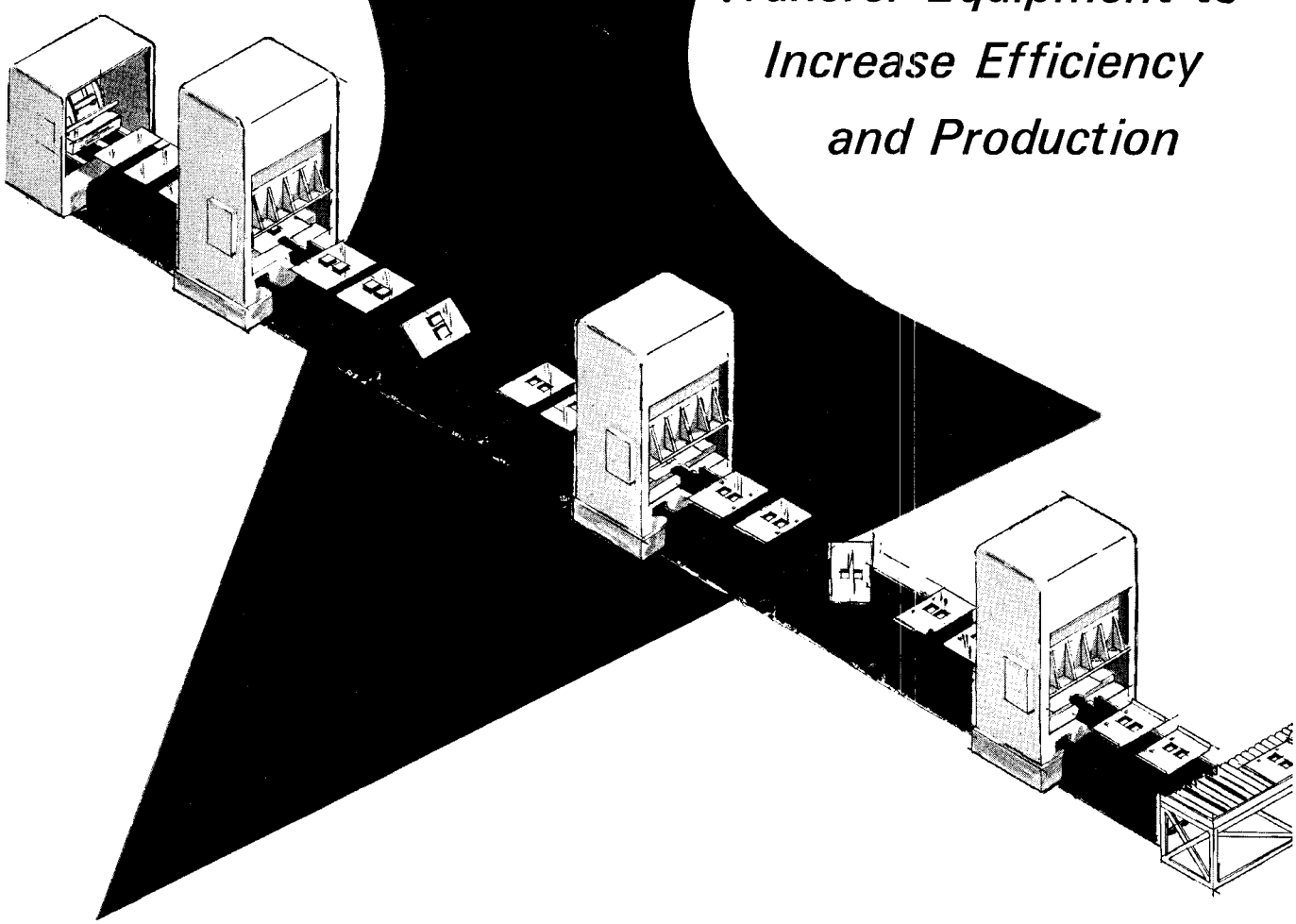

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